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150TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

1786 - JULY 4 - 1936



THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY
OR COLUMBIAN ORDER



IN THE GREAT WIGWAM, UNION SQUARE
NEW YORK

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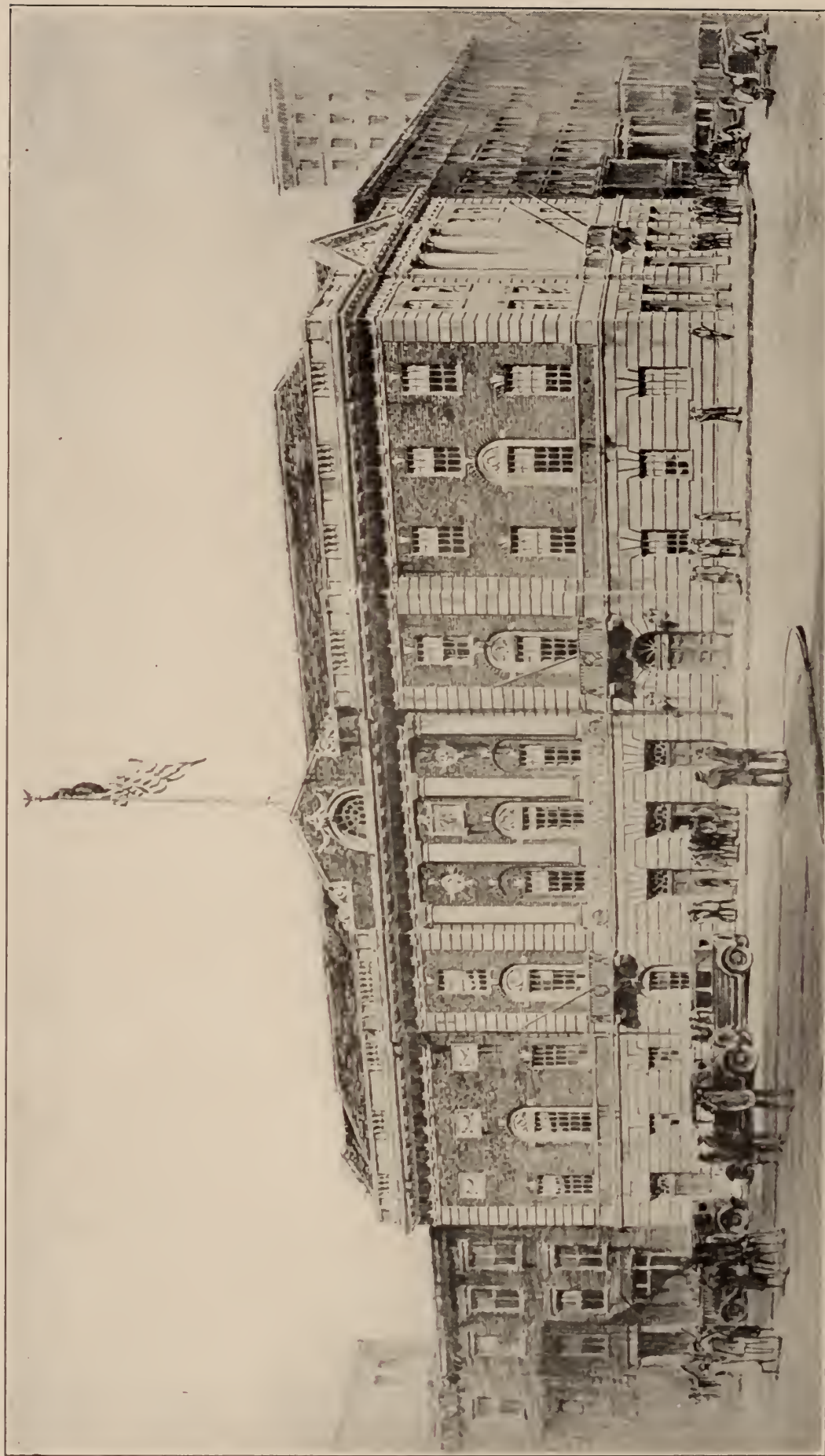
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Home of the Society of Tammany—Union Square at 17th Street

150TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

1786 - JULY 4 - 1936



THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY OR COLUMBIAN ORDER



IN THE GREAT WIGWAM, UNION SQUARE
NEW YORK

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GRAND SACHEM DR. THOMAS DARLINGTON



FOREWORD

By

GRAND SACHEM THOMAS DARLINGTON.

The Society of Tammany or Columbian Order has been in existence for more than one hundred and fifty years. During that time many other societies have come into being, lived for a time and have gone. Though there have been many assaults on the Order, it still carries on. Again and again announcements have been made by those who aimed to destroy it that the end of the organization had come, but it continues to flourish.

The reason the Society continues is its support by right thinking people and the objects for which it was formed. These objects are fundamental to our existence as a democracy, and so long as our country endures, so long as liberty and democracy exist, these principles will live.

To understand this, let us examine the Society's origin.

Its beginnings are to be found in the Sons of Liberty, organized before the Revolutionary War. Its members were leaders in that war.

When the war ended, two noteworthy societies were formed—the Society of the Cincinnati and, soon thereafter, the Tammany Society. The Cincinnati, an hereditary organization, was formed by the officers of the army, and it was specified that membership in it should descend to the eldest son. The objects of the Tammany Society were to preserve the rights and the liberties for which its founders had fought; to promote and cherish union between the States, to foster affection and kindness for one another, and to help war veterans' families. One of its foundation principles was the annual public celebration of the Proclamation of Independence on July 4.

Tammany societies had their origin in Philadelphia, and spread to other cities.

In the early days of our country the white settlers fraternized and made treaties with the Indians, some of whose chiefs were examples of good conduct. Such was Tamanend, or Tammany, as he was called by the Quakers. It was with Tamanend that William Penn made a treaty. This chief was a model of wisdom

and uprightness. In New York a Tammany society was formed by John Pintard, with the objects of liberty, uprightness and friendship, modeled after the life of Tamanend. From the beginning the Tammany Society differed from the Society of the Cincinnati in that the former admitted to membership all who had fought for liberty. Its by-laws especially stressed help to the families, the widows and orphans of those patriots who died in defense of liberty, or who themselves were incapacitated by wounds; and also it had as an object to keep alive patriotism. After Washington's death both organizations kept Washington's Birthday.

The Tammany Society was not formed to oppose the Cincinnati, though the latter was attacked by a number of persons as an order placing those of military rank above other citizens.

The Tammany Society has always kept its original holidays. The celebration of Washington's Birthday, however, has of recent years been held with other patriotic societies. But the celebration of the Fourth of July has been continuous in the Tammany organization buildings and the Declaration of Independence has been read at every such meeting.

Thus, then, the Tammany Society was founded on two great principles—LIBERTY FOR ALL and the BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. Liberty restrained only by a due regard for others, and not for a favored few—and opposition to any species of monarchialism or undue authority. These great objectives exist to this day. So the foundations of the Tammany Society are as those taught by certain parables of the Testaments—of the man whose house was built upon a rock, of the Good Samaritan and the story of the Pharisee and the publican. These are the principles of right living and of democracy.

Perhaps one may say there have been times when undue power was seized by some within an organization, and that all members have not kept the faith. This is true of all types of organization. There are few, if any, organizations, whether political, religious or business, in which some faithless ones have not been found.

Most of the great reforms in the government of the city, nearly all for health and social welfare, have been begun by Tammany.

This book recites some of the beneficent activities of the Society. Tammany's greatest aid has been to those who have needed individual or family help. Such work is private and not for publication.

Like many other societies, admission to its meetings, except upon Independence Day, is obtained by pass words—the same that were used by the Sons of Liberty prior to the Revolution. These, and the pledges of the members and the society's fundamental principles, will continue. Thus, this great organization will go forward. As in the past it continues to work for all people and for all generations.



Photo by courtesy of E. F. Foley, N. Y.

SACHEM JAMES A. FOLEY
Chairman
Sesqui-Centennial Committee

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH
ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
SOCIETY OF TAMMANY OR COLUMBIAN ORDER
July 4, 1936

Most noteworthy of the great patriotic meetings of Independence Day in 1936 was that for the joint celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order and for the one hundred and sixtieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

The dual celebration occurred in the new Union Square Wigwam of the Society and evoked words of hearty commendation from the President of the United States, the Governor of the State of New York, and scores of national, State and other officials, including Cabinet officers, members of Congress and of the State legislature.

Tammany Hall was crowded with members and well-wishers of the Society, and the surrounding streets were filled with those unable to gain admittance.

The patriotic exercises began at 9 o'clock in the morning with the raising of the National emblem to the masthead of the Charles F. Murphy memorial flagpole in Union Square Park and the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and other patriotic airs. The weather was perfect. Thousands of men, women and children stood at attention during the flag raising and other ceremonies in the park.

Throughout the celebration, both at the raising of the colors and in the Wigwam, in addition to the Sachems and members of the Society and distinguished guests, there were present delegations of several hundred members of the Naturalized American Citizens' Association including children of Armenian, Carpatho-Russian, Chinese, Croatian, Czech, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, Puerto-Rican, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish and Ukranian birth or ancestry. The participation of these groups was arranged by a committee composed in part of Morris Cukor, Francis X. Mancuso and Ivan Mladineo.

Stirring were the exercises in Union Square Park. An honor Guard of American Legionnaires with soldiers of the United States Army and sailors and marines of the United States Navy stood at attention as the flag was raised to the blast of bugles and the strains of the Star Spangled Banner.

"Chief Saint Tammany" was portrayed by Chief White Eagle, a full-blooded Cherokee Indian who is a member of the Society, "George Washington," by Frank E. Smith, "Columbia," by Miss Dorothy E. McCullen, a student of the School of Education of New York University and daughter of the Secretary of the Tammany Society, and "Uncle Sam," by Francis M. Quillinan. All the guests from the Naturalized Citizens' Association were garbed in the dress of their home lands.

Following the open-air exercises in the park the celebration was continued in the big Tammany Wigwam, which was aflutter with American flags and standards bearing the seals of the States of the Union.

Immediately after a brief introductory address by Sachem James A. Foley, as chairman of the celebration committee, messages were read from President Roosevelt and from Governor Lehman. There were noteworthy "long" and "short" talks by distinguished speakers, patriotic music by Flynn's military band, reading of the Declaration of Independence, recital of "An American's Creed," and the solemn pledge of allegiance to the flag, which is always a feature of the Tammany Society's patriotic gatherings.

The messages of congratulation and felicitation from President Roosevelt and Governor Lehman were received with rousing cheers.

In welcoming the great gathering in the Wigwam, which was filled to overflowing, despite the lure of weekend holiday attractions of every conceivable character, Chairman Foley stated:

WELCOME BY SACHEM FOLEY.

Ladies and gentlemen, my part in the ceremonies this morning as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements is extremely short. In this beautiful home of the liberty-loving and patriotic Society of Tammany we celebrate today two memorable occasions: The One Hundred Sixtieth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and our own birthday, the One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of our Society. (Applause.)

President Roosevelt's message of congratulation, which was read from the platform and broadcast by radio throughout the world, was as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, D. C., July 2, 1936.

Dear Mr. McCullen:

It is indeed fitting that the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order should coincide with the observance of the one hundred and sixtieth anniversary of our Independence. Just as the Declaration of Independence was a protest against Tory oppression, so did the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order come into being to preserve the hard-won fruits of the Revolutionary War, threatened then, as now, by the Tory interest.

The story of Freedom in this country has been the story of a long and continuous struggle in which special privilege has sought enrichment and aggrandizement of a few at the expense of the rights of the common man.

In this day, as in the days of its founding, the Society of Tammany is on the side of popular rights and against the exploitation of the many for the benefit of a favored few. I send hearty felicitations to all who participate in the dual observance planned for July Fourth.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Franklin D. Roosevelt". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

To

Edward J. McCullen,
Secretary, Society of Tammany
or Columbia Order,
Union Square,
New York, N. Y.

At the very outset of these ceremonies it is proper for us to pay reverent tribute to the Divine Providence who has safeguarded our country during the period of its existence.

In his farewell address on his retirement as General of the Army of the Revolution in 1783 George Washington, with his characteristic religious fervor, commended the young nation and its people in future years to the protection of Almighty God.

To a greater degree today we owe gratitude to that same Providence for the preservation of our liberties, the magnitude of our population and our industries, and the happiness and high standard of living of our people. It is our earnest prayer for the future that these blessings be continued, and the recent rise from

Governor Lehman's felicitations to those at the celebration were expressed in the following telegram which was read by Sachem Foley:

"As I have already advised you, I very sincerely regret that other engagements of long standing make it impossible for me to be with you on Saturday at the Fourth of July celebration. I assure you I would have been very happy indeed to have had the opportunity of joining in the exercises of Independence Day which have been observed by the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order through patriotic ceremonies over a period of more than a century.

"Particularly in these days of economic and social stress, it is important that all of us do everything within our power to strengthen and perpetuate the principles of true patriotism and democracy which inspired the founders of our country in their struggle for freedom.

"On Independence Day citizens do well to dedicate themselves anew to the ideals and principles on which our nation has been built. May I ask to convey to your members and guests my greetings and best wishes and to express to them the regret I feel that I cannot be with them on this occasion.

"(Signed) HERBERT H. LEHMAN,

"Governor."

the depths of economic depression, and the growing evidences of prosperity will increase.

In the very infancy of our Republic in the year 1786 the Society of Tammany or the Columbian Order was founded in the City of New York. It was founded not only because of a desire to perpetuate the spirit of independence, but as a crowning protest against the restrictions on the right of voting under the then Constitution in New York State. It was founded as a protest against the Tory theory that government should be concentrated in a military caste or in a narrow group of landed proprietors. Its early members were men of distinction in the City and State, in military service, in public affairs, in medicine, in the arts. Its two mottoes were: "Liberty is our Rock," and "Civil and Religious Liberty is the Glory of Man."

Our Society was formed even before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States and even before the election of Washington as its first President. Without any display of egotism, we are proud that our history has shown steadfast adherence to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the maintenance of our free institutions.

There is no mystery in the reason for the length of our existence. No institution can survive through the changing times of five generations unless it uniformly attracts men, and especially young men, of high character, and attracts them by its devotion to country in peace and in war, and by a human and charitable understanding of the principles of government. Through our 150 years the Society has been fortunate not only in its membership but in the high character of the men who have presided over it as Grand Sachems, and in its governing body of thirteen Sachems.

In its earlier years there was an office known as the Great Grand Sachem, which was tendered to and accepted by a succession of the Presidents of the United States.

These Presidents held that office in our Society: Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

Four years ago our present Grand Sachem succeeded that venerable and rugged patriot who lived to be 102 years old, and presided over the affairs of this Society for a period of 20 years, the late Judge John R. Voorhis. The present holder of that office,

Grand Sachem, is a true American. He has distinguished himself by his long career in the profession of medicine and his eminent service in public office for the improvement of the health of the people.

I present to you as the presiding officer of the day, the Grand Sachem of our Society, Dr. Thomas Darlington. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF THE GRAND SACHEM.

GRAND SACHEM DARLINGTON, on taking over conduct of the celebration, said:—

The Chairman of our Committee is very kind. I appreciate deeply his reference to myself. It was my understanding, however, that he was to preside at the meeting today; and I am sure that our Sachem, Surrogate James A. Foley, who has the admiration and affection of all of us who belong to this Society, is a much better speaker than one like myself, who is engaged in the practice of medicine.

However, whenever there has been a call to duty I have always been glad to respond to it, if it were possible to do so. Of course, unfortunately, doctors sometimes do not always relieve pain immediately; sometimes they increase it. Today, I hope, this call will *not* increase your pain.

We have just come from the raising of the Flag on the pole in Union Square; a towering steel mast contributed by distinguished members of our Society, and which has, as its base, a noble and beautiful pedestal. The pedestal, ringed by a great bronze bas relief recital of the immortal Declaration of Independence, was erected to the memory of one who not only suggested the flagpole, but who lived in the belief that the flag was a symbol of liberty, and who stood for all those things pertaining to our country that we hold dear and sacred, the Hon. Charles F. Murphy. (Applause.)

It is my privilege on behalf of the Tammany Society or the Columbian Order to welcome you here to celebrate—as the Chairman of the Committee has stated to you—the 160th Anniversary of the patriotic declaration that brought about the great conflict of our forefathers for liberty, and the 150th Anniversary of our Society; the only Society which during a century and a half has continually celebrated each returning Fourth of July, the Birthday of the struggle for liberty and independence. (Applause.)

On that date began the solution of a problem which had taxed human thought and effort for many centuries. This day, then, is not one for partisan politics. We are not here to extol the virtues of any political party or candidate, but rather to remember the men who fought to obtain the many blessings of freedom we now enjoy—Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison, Franklin, and the host of others who were leaders in that great struggle. We are here to cherish the ideas and principles for which these men devoted their lives, and to renew once more our obligation and oath against every species of monarchialism, whether National, State or City.

This object of our meeting is not new to the world. That ancient country, China, recognized three systems of religious belief: Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism; and in the struggle of these three for supremacy, the doctrines of Confucius became dominant, and among these doctrines is what we in this country call the worship of ancestors. It is in reality respect for the thought and teachings of great men and of our ancestors. The relation of age to wisdom. The teachings that appeal to human sympathy, human interest and human aspiration. So do we respect the writings and speeches of our own great men. In reading, however, through these speeches, it would seem that none of them spoke for more than ten minutes. No wonder we worship our ancestors! (Laughter.)

There is one thing, especially today, to which I wish to call your attention. That is, that liberty can only be maintained by institutions founded on law. So we today not only extol the Declaration of Independence and that other great Document, the Constitution of the United States, but we think of the men who wrote these documents. God grant that we may always have the courage to keep, as they, these two great masterpieces of thought and literature and, like the light of the Statue of Liberty in the Harbor, to bear aloft the lighted torch of liberty.

I welcome you here on this great day. (Applause.)

The Grand Sachem at the conclusion of his address introduced Miss Dorothy Githens, noted soloist, who sang *The Star Spangled Banner*, in which the assemblage—all standing—heartily joined.

THE GRAND SACHEM: It is now my pleasure to present to you the distinguished President of the Borough of Manhattan, Hon. Samuel Levy, who will recite "An American's Creed," a

patriotic gem by our distinguished fellow American, William Tyler Page.

Borough President Levy, at the conclusion of the applause that greeted him, delivered the words, which are:

AN AMERICAN'S CREED.

"I believe in the United States of America as a Government of the People, by the People, for the People; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies."

THE GRAND SACHEM: Following the rendering of "Rally 'Round the Flag" and other patriotic airs, it is my privilege to call upon the President of the Board of Aldermen, Hon. Timothy J. Sullivan, who will lead us in our Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag.

President Sullivan led the audience in the recital of the Pledge, the text of which is as follows:

"I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, One Nation indivisible, with Liberty and Justice for all."

THE GRAND SACHEM: It is now my privilege to introduce to you one who really needs no introduction to this Society; one who has always been found in his seat at our Society meetings, who has aided us in every way, one whom you all know—Hon. James Garrett Wallace, Judge of the Court of General Sessions of the County of New York.

JUDGE WALLACE TELLS HISTORY.

JUDGE WALLACE: Worthy Grand Sachem, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen: On this, the 150th Anniversary of the founding of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order, it seems to be fitting and appropriate that we pause for a few moments to consider the history of the Society, the derivation of its name, and the events which preceded its birth.

Tammany was the name of one of the greatest of American Indians, a Chieftain who was at once an historical and a legendary

figure. Chief Tammany was a Sachem of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware, Indians, the most powerful tribe of the Eastern Algonquin Confederacy. This tribe held sway in the valley of the Delaware River.

When William Penn led his followers to America to seek a haven of refuge in a new land, one of the first to welcome him to these shores was Chief Tammany, and this Chief was also present at the signing of the Great Treaty between William Penn and the Indians under the Elm at Schakamaxon, Pennsylvania.

Deeds and other historical documents signed by the great Chief-tain Tammany are still in existence, but he does not appear, with all of his virtue and wisdom, to have been a very keen businessman, as in nearly every trade he made with the white men, he gave away for comparatively little, vast acreages which his tribes had formerly held.

So well known was this great Indian Chief, and so highly was he regarded by both his own people and the white settlers for his wisdom, benevolence and nobility of character, that, after his disappearance from the historical scene, he experienced an unofficial canonization, and the Colonists began to allude to him as "Saint Tammany."

Like many other great men who have become legendary characters, the birthplace of Tammany and the time and place of his death, are shrouded in mystery. It is probable, however, that he died before the year 1698, although in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, a monument to him stands, placing the date of his death about 1750.

As far back as 1771, the first of May was known as Saint Tammany's Day, and he was adopted as the patron saint of various groups and societies formed at that time, some of which called themselves the "Sons of Saint Tammany" or the "Sons of King Tammany."

On the occasion of one of these celebrations in Philadelphia in the 1770's, a poem to Saint Tammany was read, and it might not be amiss to give you part of it here:

Some holy guardian, hence, each nation claims—
Gay France her Denis, and grave Spain her James,
Britons at once two mighty saints obey—
Andrew and George maintain united sway,
O'er humbler lands the same old whim prevails:

Ireland her Patrick; boasts her David, Wales.
We, Pennsylvanians, these old tales reject,
And our own saint think proper to erect—
Immortal Tammany of Indian Race,
Great in the fields, and foremost in the chase.

To Tammany let the full horn go round;
His fame let every honest tongue resound;
With him let every generous patriot vie
To live in freedom, or with honor die!
Nor shall I think my labor too severe,
Since ye, wise sachems, kindly deign to bear.

The early celebrations of Saint Tammany's Day were simply festive occasions indulged in by groups of Colonists, who held banquets, dressed as Indians, sang Indian songs, and performed Indian dances. In Philadelphia, however, on the 1st of May, 1772, the first permanent Tammany Society was established. Its object was the promotion of charity and patriotism, and it was called the "Sons of King Tammany." A year or so later, the name of the Society was changed to "The Sons of Saint Tammany." Some of the most noted and influential men in the Colonies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were members of this original Tammany Society. The names of Biddle, Bradford, Cadwalader, Hamilton, Logan, Pemberton, Penrose, Read, Rittenhouse and Wharton, appear on the list of the Society's members as far back as 1773.

This first Tammany Society perfected a permanent organization; elected thirteen Sachems every year, and smoked the pipe of peace, or calumet, at each meeting. From this Philadelphia Society sprang various Tammany Societies throughout the Colonies. In those crucial days preceding the American Revolution, groups of men were banding themselves together under the name of "The Sons of Liberty." These were more or less secret organizations, the object of which was to resist the encroachments of the mother country upon the liberties of the Colonists. The Stamp Act and the Billeting Act, or Mutiny Bill, designed to establish a standing army in the Colonies at the expense of the Colonists, provoked bitter opposition, and the patriotic bands known as "The Sons of Liberty," by their opposition to the Crown, became the rallying forces for the bold spirits who formed the nucleus of the future armies of the American Revolution.



AT THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

U. S. Senator Royal S. Copeland; Sachem James J. Dooling, Leader of Tammany Hall; Lieut. Governor M. William Bray; U. S. Attorney General Homer Cummings and U. S. Senator Robert F. Wagner, on the platform.

Many of the members of "The Sons of Liberty" were also members of the various Tammany Societies throughout the Colonies, and the Liberty Cap, which was the insignia of "The Sons of Liberty," became, in time, the symbol of the Tammany Societies.

Many skirmishes were waged by "The Sons of Liberty" in defending their Liberty Poles, which were erected in the lower part of New York to show their defiance of the attempts at usurpation of their rights by the British Crown.

Many noted Americans were numbered among "The Sons of Liberty," including Paul Revere, and the Boston citizens, who, disguised as Indians, threw into the waters of Boston Harbor cargoes of tea sent here by the British in their endeavors to make our citizens accept the principle of taxation without representation.

One of the outstanding American patriots of New York—Hercules Mulligan—was a member of the Tammany Society, and also one of the founders of the Sons of Liberty. During the Revolutionary War he was "Confidential Correspondent" to General George Washington and the real head of the Intelligence Department of the Revolutionary Army.

Through the influence of Mulligan and his associates, the early Tammany groups became leaders of the revolutionary sentiment in the American Colonies, and these groups gradually evolved from mere social meetings into fraternal and patriotic societies.

One of the leaders in the organization of the first Tammany Society in New York was John Pintard, merchant, philanthropist and scholar, who came here in 1784 from New Jersey, where he had been active in the Sons of Tammany.

In 1786 the Tammany Society or Columbian Order was founded in New York City, with William Mooney as its founder and first Grand Sachem. By that time the Tammany Society had adopted as its patron, not only the great sachem of the Indian tribes, but also Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of America, hence the Society was called "Saint Tammany's Society or Columbian Order."

The capital of the young Republic was then in New York City and shortly after George Washington took his oath of office in May, 1789, the Society had a celebration, at which it is recorded the Father of his Country was the guest of honor.

In 1790, the Society held another ceremony for the purpose of helping the Government make a treaty of friendship with the



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AT THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION—TAKEN NEAR THE BASE OF THE
MURPHY MEMORIAL IN UNION SQUARE
Left to right: Francis J. Quillinan as "Uncle Sam"; Miss Dorothy E. McCullen as "Columbia"; Chief
White Eagle, Cherokee Indian, as "Chief Saint Tammany," and Frank E. Smith as "George Washington."

Creek Indians. On this occasion many of the most prominent men in the country were present, including Governor George Clinton, Chief Justice John Jay, Mayor Duane of New York, Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State, and many others.

DeWitt Clinton, former Mayor of New York City and Governor of the State of New York, the father of the Erie Canal, was a Scribe of the Tammany Society, and George Clinton, Colonial General, Governor of New York State, and Vice-President of the United States, was a Sachem of the Society in its early days.

John Pintard, one of the early Tammany Sachems, was the founder of the American or Tammany Museum, the first museum ever founded in New York. He was also the organizer of the first savings bank of this city.

In the days following the Revolution, the quarters of the Tammany Society became the gathering place for those who believed in maintaining the principles of democracy, and who realized that eternal vigilance was the price of liberty. It was not a political body, as it was made up of adherents of all schools of thought, but gradually, with the development of political ideals, two parties, the Federal and the anti-Federal party, evolved.

One party was led in New York by John Jay, Alexander Hamilton and Chancellor Livingston, who were advocates of a strong central government; and the other party led in New York by George Clinton, Robert Yates, John Lansing and Melancthon Smith, who, while not averse to a confederation, resisted all attempts at the erection of a power to destroy the sovereignty of the States.

Hamilton and his followers wanted the President and the Senate elected for life, and not by direct vote of the people. They also wanted the Governors of the different States elected by the Congress. The other group desired to maintain the balance of power in the hands of the separate States.

While men of both groups belonged to the Society of Tammany, the majority of those devoted to the sovereignty of the States, as opposed to the domination of the central government, gradually increased, until at the time of the election of Thomas Jefferson, the Society had become strongly Democratic.

Another cause which contributed to the formation of the early Society, was the Society of the Cincinnati. This Society was composed of the officers, and descendants of officers, of the Ameri-

can Army of the Revolution. It adopted strong anti-republican sentiments, and elected Baron von Steuben its President. The common soldiers of the Revolutionary Army were then prompted to join with the Society of Tammany to defend the democratic ideals which had brought about the American Revolution.

The political views of the members of the Society were constantly subject to change by the force of the passing events. The Federal Party had been very strong in this city up to the year 1800, but from that time the principles of Jefferson began to be accepted, and Federalism in the Tammany Society gradually died out. It was felt that the Federalists, led by Adams, intended to establish an oligarchy under the pretext of having an effective central government.

The enactment of the Alien Act and the Sedition Law, intended to make a crime of criticism of the President and of the Government; the attempt to raise a large standing army, and other measures advocated by the Federalists, convinced those favoring a republic that a determination existed to subvert their liberties. Thus it was that about the year 1800 the Tammany Society became a distinctly Democratic institution.

It might be well to reflect for a moment on the City of New York as it existed in those days. Nassau and Pine Streets were then what 42d and 57th Streets are today. The wigwam of Tammany at that time was at Nassau and Spruce Streets. Pearl Street, from Hanover Square to John Street, was the abode of wealth and fashion. Wall Street was a gay promenade on bright afternoons. The City Hall stood at the foot of Nassau Street, which street at that time was a fashionable residential section. The Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and many other prominent citizens, lived in Pearl Street. The city almshouse was located near the site of the present City Hall.

In 1811 the Society erected its first permanent Hall, or Wigwam, at the corner of Frankfort and Nassau Streets. On July 4th, 1867, it laid the corner-stone of a new Wigwam on Fourteenth Street near Third Avenue. In this Wigwam the Society held its meetings for many years, and in the year 1868 the Democratic National Convention, which nominated Horatio Seymour for President of the United States, was held in the Tammany Wigwam on Fourteenth Street. On July 4th, 1928, the Fourteenth

Street Wigwam was closed, and the beautiful new Colonial building on Union Square was begun.

During the War of 1812 the Tammany Society was the headquarters of those who were in favor of its vigorous prosecution, in contrast to many who were lukewarm in this contest with the mother country. After the war had been concluded, and the Commissioners, who had gone to Ghent to arrange the treaty of peace, returned to the United States, they were entertained at a great banquet at Tammany Hall.

TAMMANY IN THE VAN.

The Tammany Society was active in the support of Andrew Jackson in his candidacy for the presidency of the United States.

Since its inception the Tammany Society has been the leader in patriotic and civic movements.

It has led the fight for popular rule and equal rights since its organization.

It was the first organization to celebrate the birthday of George Washington, the father of our country.

In 1812 it held a mass meeting to approve the declaration of war against England.

Its members, by the thousands, worked on the fortifications around New York when invasion threatened at that time.

The Society participated in the public procession at the funeral of Captain James Lawrence, who died saying: "Don't give up the ship."

It tendered a banquet to Commodore Perry, the hero of the naval battle of Lake Erie.

It conducted a campaign for Manhood Suffrage which resulted in the attainment of that democratic ideal in 1821.

It recommended in 1823, an amendment to the United States Constitution calling for the election of the President by popular vote.

It was responsible for reducing the term of residence of aliens for eligibility to citizenship to five years.

It secured the repeal of the Debtors' Prison Law.

It supported President Jackson and his nullification proclamation against secession, and adopted the slogan, which survived until the conclusion of the Civil War, of: "The Union must and shall be preserved."

It passed a ringing resolution favoring the annexation of Texas, and aggressively endorsed and supported President Polk in the war against Mexico.

It fought vigorously and successfully for religious liberty in politics and against "Know-Nothingism."

TAMMANY IN THE CIVIL WAR.

When the Civil War threatened to split the Union asunder, the Tammany Society raised and equipped, at its own expense, a regiment called "The Tammany Jackson Guard, 42d New York Infantry." This Regiment fought throughout the entire Civil War, and was one of the Union regiments that faced Pickett's charge at Gettysburg. There, at the Bloody Angle, a monument to the Regiment was erected by the Tammany Society.

William H. Seward, the Secretary of State during the Civil War, said publicly of the Tammany Society: "It has never failed to observe and honor the anniversary of National Independence, and during the Civil War the Tammany Society sent its sons to fight for the Union, and, with unswerving fidelity, heartily supported the Federal Government."

After the war the Society favored a tolerant and generous policy of reconstruction.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR AND WORLD WAR.

In 1898 it raised and equipped a Regiment for the Spanish-American War, and tendered it to President McKinley. However, that Regiment was never mustered into service.

In 1917 the members of the Society pledged their loyalty and united support to the President and the country, and offered to assist, and did assist, in every way possible in the prosecution of the war. Many of its members enlisted in the army, and all were united behind the national government.

In every crisis through which the nation has passed, the Tammany Society has been in the forefront in fighting for freedom and democracy, and its endeavor always has been to perpetuate the principles of liberty and independence on which this government is founded.

It made many contributions to the development and up-building of our City, State and Nation; to industry and commerce; to charitable and social work; to religious and personal liberty, and to civic ideals and good citizenship.



CHILDREN OF THE NATURALIZED AMERICAN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION AT THE
RAISING OF THE COLORS

Eight hundred members of the Association, including children whose parents were born in twenty-two foreign countries, were among the enthusiastic participants in the 150th Anniversary Celebration.

Many of its members were signatories to the Declaration of Independence; a President of the United States; three Vice-Presidents of the United States; five Cabinet Members; fifteen Governors of the State of New York; many United States Senators; Judges of the Supreme Court of this State and other courts, and twenty-four Mayors of the City of New York.

It has aided the suffering and needy from its earliest days up to the present time, not only in the City of New York, but throughout the world.

It has contributed to the victims of the Johnstown Flood; the Galveston Flood; the San Francisco Earthquake and similar disasters in Italy and Japan, as well as Memorials to Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, and to the Bond Issue of the Irish Republic.

On this, its 150th Anniversary, the Society faces the future with enthusiasm, and in the confidence that in the next 150 years its usefulness to the community will be even greater than it has been in the past.

ADDRESS OF ATTORNEY GENERAL CUMMINGS.

THE GRAND SACHEM: I have many friends and acquaintances who do not always believe in the Tammany Society or in Tammany Hall, and sometimes they have said to me, "How is it that you love the Tammany Society?" and the answer is to be found in this beautiful address by Judge Wallace to which you have just listened. (Applause.)

I always like these Fourth of July celebrations by Tammany, because we have our home talent. Rarely do we have any one speak at these celebrations except our own people. The man I am about to introduce to you we can feel is one of our own, for he lives just over the line in Connecticut. I would particularly like to say just a word about him. Today's newspapers print a great deal about crime and its suppression. The man at the helm, the man responsible for the great crusade against criminals in this country is the man whom I now introduce to you, the Honorable Homer Cummings, Attorney General of the United States. (Applause.)

ATTORNEY GENERAL CUMMINGS: Mr. Chairman, members and friends of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York: I am highly appreciative of those gracious

words which have just been uttered by your presiding officer and thank you most sincerely.

When our forefathers issued the Declaration of Independence, they not only established a new nation but they also recorded the triumph of ideals of government to which we have ever since adhered.

The Fourth of July is not merely a date on the calendar. It is the seal of America's compact with liberty.

Implicit in the revolutionary phrases of the Declaration of Independence are the sanctions of all just governments, as well as the stirring concept that such governments are the servants and not the masters of human need. Of necessity, such a government was an experiment; but it was a glorious, a successful experiment, and it stands today as the hope of modern civilization.

In many quarters there are those who, pointing to the swift and even fundamental changes that have overtaken other peoples in other parts of the world, freely predict a break-up of the foundations of our government. These forebodings of disaster were especially frequent in 1932 and during the early part of 1933, when our country found itself in a period of unexampled industrial and financial chaos. Sheer necessity gnawed at the roots of democracy. For reasons which it is not here necessary to explore, our government had ceased to be effective. It no longer served the people it was set up to serve.

In large areas of our country, amongst disillusioned groups of our people, serious outbreaks were recurring with alarming frequency. Hunger and fear, the twin authors of revolution, stared at us with menacing eyes. Since that time, under the inspiring leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, hunger has been appeased, fear has been banished, hope has reentered American homes, orderly governmental processes have been restored, and a great cleansing and rebuilding program is proceeding toward its legitimate conclusion.

These achievements are fresh tributes to American statesmanship and to the resilience and patience of our people. They demonstrate of what stout stuff America is made. But they teach us, too, how essential it is that the freedom our fathers won should not be forfeited by a complacent acquiescence in the face of old evils that recur in new forms. Indeed, the lessons of the

THE INDEPENDENCE MONUMENT

ERECTED IN UNION SQUARE IN COMMEMORATION OF
THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

1776

1926

SETTING FORTH IN ENDURING BRONZE
THE FULL TEXT OF THE
IMMORTAL CHARTER OF AMERICAN LIBERTY
WAS A GIFT TO THE CITY OF NEW YORK
BY THE

CHARLES F. MURPHY
MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

THE SCULPTURED FRIEZE OF THE MONUMENT
SYMBOLIZES THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE
EVILS OF OPPRESSION AND THE BLESSINGS
OF LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE. THE FORMER
LIBERTY POLE WHICH WAS REPLACED BY THE
MONUMENT WAS ERECTED AT THE SUGGESTION
OF CHARLES F. MURPHY FOR TWENTY YEARS
A SACHEM OF THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY

DEDICATED JULY 4TH 1930

COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN

JOHN F. CALVIN

TREASURER

ANDREW J. SHERIDAN

SCULPTOR

ANTHONY J. DE FRANCISCI

CONSULTING ARCHITECT

CHARLES B. MEYERS

Charles F. Murphy Memorial Tablet

revolution would be entirely lost to us if we imagined that all that freedom means is political liberty.

Jefferson saw much farther than that and set up in the Declaration of Independence standards of guidance for the government that made it not only an instrument of resistance to tyranny from whatever source that tyranny came, but also a means whereby the needs of our people should be satisfied and their safety and happiness assured as time progressed.

After the struggle for religious liberty had been won and the struggle for political liberty was the urgent cause of the day, many leaders, unconscious of what was going forward, still talked in terms of the previous conflict. Now that political liberty has been won, and our fundamental rights, including the right to assemble, to petition, to vote, to aspire to office, to maintain a free press, free discussion and the right of free speech are no longer challenged and no longer in peril, there are men, and the names of many of them will occur to you, who still talk in ancient phrases, worry about uncontraverted things, vex our ears with impotent discussion about matters already settled, and have neither words nor thought nor concern for the struggle to secure a larger measure of economic freedom.

President Roosevelt expressed this issue with extraordinary clarity when, a few days ago, he declared in a speech that is destined to become one of the great historic utterances of American statesmen:

“Liberty requires opportunity to make a living—a living decent according to the standard of the time, a living which gives man not only enough to live by, but something to live for.

“For too many of us the political equality we once had won was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. For too many of us life was no longer free; liberty no longer real; men could no longer follow the pursuit of happiness.

“Today we stand committed to the proposition that freedom is no half and half affair. If the average citizen is guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place, he must have equal opportunity in the market place.”

Nor is it strange that the necessity has arisen to stress these modern aspects of liberty. America was not finished when the Declaration of Independence was issued. That was the day when America began. We are no longer a nation whose problems are merely local.

Manufacturing, merchandising, transportation, agriculture, mining, mass production, problems of employment and unemployment, strikes and other labor difficulties are upon a national scale; or, if local in scope, are national in effect. Child labor in one state may disrupt an industry in another. Sweat shops not only degrade the workers who are immediately exploited but also spread their poison throughout the land. Predatory crime and roving bands of bank robbers and kidnappers do not pause at state or county lines and ask permission to pass.

We have learned, indeed, we had to learn, that local law enforcement agencies, no matter how well trained or effective in their local spheres, could not cope with an interstate crime problem without national aid. Goods and people now move as quickly from San Francisco to New York as they once moved from New York to Philadelphia. From Chicago to Washington is no more distant in time today than from Concord to Boston, by foot or horse, one hundred years ago.

President Washington was never heard at one time by more than a small fraction of the people, nor was Lincoln, nor even Wilson. The immortal words of Jefferson reached the people of America by a very slow process, covering weeks of time.

The theory of our government has not changed, but the times have changed, and invention has altered the scope and tempo of our life. There are many influential and intelligent citizens who are disturbed by these things and indulge fears, largely artificial, that something terrible is happening to America. They seek to interpret the law and the Constitution in such fashion that they will check rather than guide the flow of the stream of life. They fling themselves athwart the currents of existence and order them to pause. These futile gestures bring only disappointment and bitterness to those who indulge them. Nothing is happening to America except that it is growing and that it is insisting that it shall not lose its freedom in the process.

In the presence of chaos, disaster or economic breakdown, justice will not tolerate the futile plea, "it cannot be done". In a word, what we seek is to make democracy work. No living institution is ever finished; no rigid formula for the solution of human problems is ever apt to be devised. The teachings of history repeatedly admonish us that what one period regards as radical another comes to consider as conservative. The equity stirring

today becomes the law of tomorrow. Jefferson foresaw this clearly and pointed it out time and time again. Society, and even the State, in the ultimate analysis, is life and not something built to a formula. It grows, it lives, it survives by virtue of some inner force which is the life current of its era. No one can note the superb elan with which men have met the problems and the tribulations of these latter days without believing that this current is still undefiled and capable of carrying us safely to our destination.

And, so we turn, again and again, with increasing gratitude, to the Declaration of Independence. Its far-seeing philosophy, its friendly, human touch, its faith in the destiny of man—these things cheer and strengthen us amid the problems of a modern world and confirm us in the faith that America is destined to enter wider fields of freedom than we have thus far known. (Applause.)

SENATOR COPELAND'S ADDRESS.

THE GRAND SACHEM: I am sure that you, like myself, were very much interested in the address of the Attorney General. I hope that some time he will come to us and tell us more about the wonderful work he is doing for the suppression of crime.

The next speaker needs no introduction. He is one of us. It is difficult for me to think of him as a Senator. Years ago we were associated in many things in medicine. I like to think of him in the great work that he did in the relief of sickness and suffering in this city as President of the Board of Health: the Honorable Royal S. Copeland, United States Senator. (Cheers and applause.)

SENATOR COPELAND: Grand Sachem, Dr. Darlington, Governor Bray, Mr. Chairman, members of the Society of Tammany, ladies and gentlemen: After a turbulent six months in Washington I am mighty glad to come back to this peaceful and friendly place. (Laughter and applause.) I am more than happy to be among my friends. (Applause.)

SENATOR COPELAND ON GOVERNMENT.

This is the Fourth of July, the one hundred and sixtieth anniversary of American independence. It is the day set apart for solemn contemplation of those historical events that made a nation. It commemorates the spiritual awakening of a people, a people destined by Almighty God to be the leaders of mankind in estab-

lishing ideals of liberty, freedom of individual expression, and political self-determination.

There is something in the very atmosphere of America that from the earliest days made for self-reliance, independence of spirit, unwillingness to be dominated by autocratic rulers, as well as the capacity for formulation of these convictions in unmistakable language. That immortal document, the Declaration of Independence, will ever live in proof of this statement.

As I see it, every citizen should take pains to inform himself as to those causes which impelled our forefathers to separation from the mother country. It is wise to do this, because we are prone to become distracted by our personal troubles and interests, perhaps to a degree that makes us oblivious to the significance of current events. To study seriously what our ancestors suffered and what they finally did to rid themselves of despotism, is good medicine for every generation. It is reasonable to believe that what those noble patriots did in 1776 to win complete political freedom, may help us in this generation, and our children in successive generations, to preserve that freedom.

The inhabitants of the world are living in an atmosphere of dictatorships, remarkable political doctrines, and strange economic theories. Our most dependable safeguard against dangerous heresies lies in full knowledge of the successful treatment administered to similar ailments in other times.

The salvation of the United States lies in the fact that it is indeed a Union, a union of forty-eight States. We have forty-eight governments, forty-eight legislatures, forty-eight armies, forty-eight commanders-in-chief. Red-handed, stark, blood-curdling revolution can't happen here. Illinois or Massachusetts or California might witness an uprising. But as long as the sovereignty of the State is preserved, the solidarity of the nation is assured.

The fathers saw this. They agreed to a central government limited to those powers and functions explicitly conferred upon it. There never would have been ratification of the Constitution and never could have been a Union on other terms.

I happened to be born a Protestant, but this city is largely Catholic and Jewish. With the Catholics and Jews there is traditional respect for authority. Consequently, it is doubtful if in any other community in the United States is there more likelihood of finding

respect for the courts, the embodiment of political and social authority. No greater responsibility rests on the individual than to maintain the letter and spirit of the Constitution. That instrument is indeed the cornerstone of our liberties.

History is like a snowball made by a group of children; it is rolled along until it becomes of mammoth size. With the passing years historical facts accumulate until the mass is too great to be included, certainly in a school textbook. In consequence, most of us who live today are not so thoroughly informed of the facts of early American history as were our grandparents. We have more books to read and the daily newspapers to devour, so there is no time for deep study of those stirring years, for example, between 1763 and July 4, 1776.

It may happen some time that another dozen years may mean more to Americans than that period in the eighteenth century. But surely it would take more than the efforts of a dozen years to set aside the emotions, convictions, and indelible decisions, which bound our ancestors with hoops of steel and will continue to bind us to the end of time. That particular decade and a quarter marked the crystallization of patriotic thought. It awakened in the souls of men the true significance of the only sort of government America could tolerate. No longer would a freeborn people submit to distant dictation and control.

The best government is that of, by, and for the people governed. New York City would never tolerate being governed from Albany. What is good for Buffalo may be all wrong for Rochester. What suits Ithaca may be offensive to Elmira. Regimentation of cities is just as intolerable as regimentation of States.

As I study the situation existing between 1763 and 1776, the period mentioned, the least bearable of the complaints was the heaviness of the hand of a remote despot. Conditions would have been little better had that distant master been a benevolent despot. Americans, if worthy the name, hate despotism. Our ancestors hated it; we hate it; we pray our posterity may hate it and never be forced to endure it.

Those who founded the Society of Tammany were those who thought with Thomas Jefferson. They frowned upon centralization of power in the Federal Government. In that respect they were like the majority of the Constitutional Convention which had met and completed its labors coincidentally with the founding of the Tammany Society.

I have mentioned the date 1763. This was an important one in the history of the Colonies, because it marked the end of French power in North America. There was joy on this, because for a century France had been a deadly enemy for the colonists. Aided by their Indian allies, the French pillaged, devastated, and murdered.

News of the peace of 1763, ending the Seven Years War, excited the gratitude of Americans. The ill feelings of the past were forgotten for the time being. There was a different attitude toward the parent country and a kindly feeling, too, for the young prince in whose reign the end of the French terror occurred.

George III, whom we think of as the heartless tyrant of the Revolution, was really an amiable youth. On ascending the throne he was only twenty-two, a man of courtesy and personal purity. Prayer book in hand, he went to church every Sunday. Unfortunately, however, his natural, stupid, stubborn, bigoted nature soon came to the surface.

But, as I have intimated, in 1763 the British had it in their power to establish with the American colonists a relationship which might have continued. It may well have resulted in a status for our country such as is in effect in the Dominion of Canada.

But it was a short-lived peace. Within a few weeks of the signing of the Treaty of Paris, George Grenville became Prime Minister and our troubles began anew. The infamous "Stamp Act" was passed. One iniquity after another followed, and in due time the tax on tea was placed. Then came the Boston Tea Party in protest against what the colonists called the "Intolerable Acts."

HISTORY, PAST AND PRESENT.

In what the heading calls it, "the unanimous declaration of the thirteen United States of America," we find an enumeration of the evil acts of George III. His youthful amiability had given way to the impulses of his true nature. Let me quote from that immortal document:

"The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States."

What would be the attitude of the American people today if one in authority presumed to repeat the acts performed by that despot of the 18th century?

Suppose a modern despot attempted to make "judges dependent on his will alone."

Suppose he were to erect "a multitude of new offices" and send "swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance"?

Suppose he were to impose "taxes on us without our consent"?

What if he took "away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our Governments"?

Suppose he invested himself "with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever"?

If these things, or some of them, were to be undertaken—and I have but slightly paraphrased the very language of the Declaration what would be our modern-day reaction? Would we have the spirit to say as did the authors of the Declaration: "A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people"?

Have we grown soft through years of self-indulgence? How different are we from our ancestors, the Fathers of the Republic"?

At Philadelphia the other night, President Roosevelt, in his acceptance speech said beautifully what I have in mind today. Let me quote:

"It was to win freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought. That victory gave the business of governing into the hands of the average man, who won the right with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny through his own government."

The President continued:

"There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of others much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny."

"In this world of ours in other lands, there are some people, who, in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy."

"I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization, it is a war for the survival of

democracy. We are fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world”.

On the day commemorative of the One Hundred Sixtieth-year of American Independence, it is not enough merely to recite the brave deeds of the men who signed the Declaration. Once one of his generals told Napoleon about a great victory the former had won the day before. “Never mind about that”, said Napoleon. “What are you going to do tomorrow?”

That should be our attitude today. We are proud of what these patriots did on July 4, 1776, but what are we ready to do should similar emergencies confront our people at some future time? Unless we have iron in our souls and steel in our nerves, we are not fit to inherit the millions of advantages that Jefferson and Adams and Carroll and Rutledge conferred upon us by the act we celebrate today. We should not be true to the memory of our own New York signers of that immortal document, William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, and Lewis Morris, unless we too in time of national distress are ready mutually to “pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.” (Applause.)

SENATOR WAGNER’S ADDRESS.

THE GRAND SACHEM: Some years ago I sat in a restaurant with a young man and we talked over modern housing and various improvements for the comfort and health of the working people. That man is today one of our United States Senators, Bob Wagner—I beg your pardon—The Honorable Robert F. Wagner. (Applause.)

SENATOR WAGNER: Honorable Grand Sachem, Mr. Dooling, Governor Bray, Judge Foley, my friends:

The Tammany Society stands second to none in the history of the struggles for American liberty. Its first records are resplendent with the deeds of our early members, who participated in the world-shaking events that brought freedom and honor to the Thirteen Colonies. We feel that the atmosphere here today is pervaded with their holy presence, along with the other National heroes who, through successive generations, marched forth from Tammany Hall.

This year there is a special cause for rejoicing. We have recently witnessed the reaffirmation of American ideals, and the reestablishment of American opportunities. We know that in

November the Nation, in a demonstration transcending all party lines, will register its overwhelming approval of a Government that has kept faith with the immortal principles of democracy conceived 160 years ago.

This meeting represents a tradition ; but it is a tradition glowing with the warmth of our friendship—a long association that strikes in my heart a personal note. You will understand why, on this day above all others, I return with ever growing sentiment and affection to Tammany Hall, where I began my political career.

Here I learned that no one was too poor or strange or obscure to win recognition, if he had the power and the inclination to render public service. (Applause.) Here I tested the true meaning of friendship, of loyalty, of liberty and of democracy. Here we have been thrilled again and again by the full significance and purpose of the Fourth of July.

Let us pause to consider why the Fourth of July is enshrined forever in the hearts of our people. Let us ask why it is that one of the three or four secular holidays that the whole civilized world knows about and intently feels ; why it is honored even by the nation for which it meant the loss of a Western Empire. I cannot believe that the events of 1776, glorious though they were, perpetuated and hallowed as they have been in song and story, could alone have produced so lasting and universal a reverence and devotion.

This day is cherished for reasons deeper and wider than any single occasion or series of events. It is symbolic of a love of liberty that had no beginning, and that will have no end, so long as the human spirit prevails. It is symbolic of the struggles, both here and abroad, stretching back to the dim days of the pre-historic past, that our forerunners have engaged in to create charters of the peoples rights, to establish Constitutions, to vindicate civil liberties, to convert slavery into liberty, to preserve from desecration the altars of freedom already won.

The Fathers of our Republic were philosophers of the history of mankind, and they were aware that liberty must be won every day anew. They realized that the gift which they had bestowed upon us could not be preserved, save by a ceaseless vigil. Thomas Jefferson said that the tree of liberty would have to be fertilized from time to time with the life-blood of patriots and sages. This very tree of liberty has grown and blossomed among us because,



(Sculpture by Anthony J. DeFrancisci)

Fragment of Bas Relief, Base of Charles F. Murphy Memorial, Union Square Park.

in peace no less than in war, we have been blessed with men and women willing to spend the last drop of their energies and fortunes to preserve the heritage of America.

The new historical occasions which we celebrate are merely dramatic episodes in a continuous pageant of life. We single them out because they typify the resurgence of the spirit of liberty at critical periods when it seemed almost crushed—periods that reached their crises when Washington walked alone in the snow at Valley Forge, when Lincoln bowed his head amid the crosses at Gettysburg, and when Franklin D. Roosevelt took the solemn oath of office on that dreary 4th day of March in 1933. (Applause.)

What lessons do we learn from the events leading up to and following the 4th of March, 1933? We learn that, while the forms of freedom change with changing social problems, the substance of liberty is eternal. During the present century we have not faced political oppression from without; but we have faced predatory oppression from within. We have not suffered from imperialistic encroachments abroad; but we have suffered from encroachments upon freedom of opportunity at home. We have not been endangered by the dismemberment of our union in a war against secession; but we have just avoided the disintegration of our business system in a war against depression.

In meeting the challenge of our times, we seek freedom for capital and investment from recurrent economic disorders that paralyze industry and commerce. We seek freedom for the average business man from being driven into bankruptcy by cut-throat competition on the one hand and monopoly on the other. We seek for the home owner freedom from foreclosure and eviction. And we seek for the little children freedom from degrading influences in the worst of the slums.

We seek for both corporate and individual savings freedom from the terrible calamity of bank failures, and we seek for all, freedom from the fear of destitution in their old age, freedom from insecurity of jobs in their prime of life, freedom from the dwarfing of their physical and mental development in youth. We strive for these liberties with the same dignity, the same inspiration, and the same sureness that right must triumph, that drove the patriots forward to Yorktown.

I detect a striking similarity during all the periods when our

liberties have been most at stake. Always there has arisen the plea of compromise and reaction. Edmund Burke, the Great British orator, tried with all his eloquence to conciliate the American colonies; but the colonists would never become reconciled to the idea of taxation without representation. A century later the silver-tongued Clay and the logical Calhoun attempted to compromise the issue between the States, but the majority of free men could never become resigned to the extension of human slavery.

Within our own times, when destitution made of liberty an empty slogan, there were some who tried to sell the American people the notion that depressions were unavoidable, that public action was unavailing, and that poverty was a perpetual necessity in a land of limitless wealth and plenty.

The American people would no more surrender their economic rights than they would have countenanced the destruction of their political rights. As they won the fight for political freedom, so now they are winning the fight for economic liberty. (Applause.) They will never change their course until the victory is complete.

Great causes inspire great leaders. There were leaders fit to command in 1776 and in 1861; and in 1932 the ranks of democracy produced one in keeping with our times. He has guided us from panic to recovery, and during the next four years he will lead us to heights not yet attained. (Applause.)

We are proud of our men of heroic stature; but the cardinal principle of our form of government is that the success of a leader depends upon the justice of the fight and the strength of the people. The power and glory of America lies in the hands of the American people. The Fourth of July affords the people a glowing occasion to recall our nation's inspiring history and to rededicate themselves to the fulfillment of its glorious destiny. (Applause.)

THE GRAND SACHEM: Ladies and gentlemen, the program for the day is finished, but I want to say one thing before we conclude, and that is to repeat Judge Foley's admonition at the beginning of this celebration, that we must trust in God. And now I ask Judge Foley to close the meeting.

CHAIRMAN FOLEY: As Chairman of the Committee, I want to express my appreciation to some of those who have contributed so greatly to the success of this celebration—and what a celebration it was! First, the children and the members and the officers

of the Naturalized American Citizens' Association who made such a beautiful picture out in Union Square and in the parade around this hall after our visit to the Independence Monument. Next to the speakers: Homer Cummings—we like to call him that—the Attorney General of the United States, for his brilliant speech and the fact that he gave up the time to come here. (Applause.) Senator Copeland, always popular. (Applause.) Our own Senator Wagner (applause) and Judge Wallace.

Finally, I wish to pay a little compliment to Mayor LaGuardia, for the privilege of allowing us to use radio station WNYC, and to the management of Station WOR and the Mutual Broadcasting Company; and last but by no means least, to the members of our Committee and particularly our efficient Secretary, Mr. Edward J. McCullen. (Applause.)

The meeting is adjourned. Long live Tammany!

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Success of the anniversary celebration was due in no small measure to the very efficient committees drafted by the Council of Sachems and by Sachem James A. Foley, Chairman of the Celebration Committee. The personnel of the various committees was as follows:

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July 4, 1936

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ORGANIZED, UNFALTERING LOYALTY

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebration of the birth of the Tammany Society, merged with the one hundred and sixtieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, was but one of the notable public evidences of the patriotic and loyal principles of the organization. In the closing years of the eighteenth century and throughout all the nineteenth century the Society in its own headquarters, humble in the beginning, but with ever increasing strength and vigor, has espoused the cause of liberty and progress.

In the war of 1812, in the cause of the Republic of Texas, in the Mexican war, in the struggle between the States, in the Spanish-American war and in the great world war the Society of Tammany and its leaders, by great public meetings, by volunteering to bear arms and by contributions of money and supplies has always, publicly and privately, upheld the constituted authorities of the Republic. In the darkest days of the civil war Tammany again and again proclaimed that the Union of the States must be preserved.

At the most critical period of the civil war, when Southern soldiers were already in the State of Pennsylvania and feeling in the State of New York was most tense, the Society of Tammany issued one of its most stirring calls for the preservation of the Union and for public demonstration of loyalty by attending the Independence Day patriotic mass meeting of the Tammany Society on July 4, 1864. The text of that call, signed by all the Sachems of the Society, was as follows:

THE UNION MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED

1776—1864

TAMMANY SOCIETY OR COLUMBIAN ORDER

Tammany Hall, New York, June 24, 1864.

Dear Sir:

The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was organized in the year 1786, by patriotic men who had shared in the dangers and trials by which our National Independence was achieved, and who were fervently devoted to the great principles of Republican government, on which the Union of the States was founded.

It was the first political organization formed in this country devoted to the cause of "the Union"—it has never faltered in the performance of its high mission, and, from its inception, has never failed to celebrate with becoming ceremonies the anniversary of the day of our National Independence. The "patriot flame" has ever burned on its altar.

The Sons of the Tammany Society today are animated by the same zealous devotion as their Fathers to their country—the preservation of its Union, and its onward progress as a great nation—in vindication of the right and capacity of the people to self-government—to civil and religious liberty—and the maintenance of the principles of Progress and Freedom, asserted and established by its wise and beneficent Constitution.

In the times of National peace and prosperity, our Annual Celebration was signalized by our Society with rejoicings which fittingly proclaimed our growing progress as a nation, and advancing happiness as a united people.

Since the breaking out of this unhappy and unnatural rebellion, our meetings on the anniversary have been held in a spirit of fervent devotion to the perpetuity of the Union, but with a realizing sense of the solemn danger with which our Government and the cause it illustrates was menaced.

Believing that a perpetual Union was formed by the people of the United States, and that that Union, in the Democratic principles of its Constitution, is the best government known to man—justly controlled by no section, and producing the greatest happiness to the greatest number—is the heritage of the citizens of this generation, to be enjoyed with all its beneficent attributes, a solemn and irrevocable trust, to be transmitted by them with all its powers unchanged and all its glory untarnished, to succeeding generations.

Our Society will meet, in accordance with its invariable custom, to which we have referred, in the great Wigwam, on the 4th day of July next, at one P. M., to commemorate our National Independence, and to counsel together upon the dangers which threaten our National existence.

RECOGNIZING YOUR PATRIOTISM AND FIRM DEVOTION TO THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION, AND BELIEVING YOU TO BE IN SYMPATHY WITH THESE PRINCIPLES, WE EARNESTLY INVITE YOU TO ATTEND AND PARTICIPATE IN OUR CEREMONIES ON THE APPROACHING ANNIVERSARY.

Very respectfully,

SACHEM DANIEL E. DELAVAN,	SACHEM DOUGLAS TAYLOR,
SACHEM JOHN T. HOFFMAN,	SACHEM CHARLES G. CORNELL,
SACHEM ISAAC BELL,	SACHEM JOHN E. DEVELIN,
SACHEM PETER B. SWEENEY,	SACHEM JOHN CLANCY,
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CASPER C. CHILDS, Secretary. ELIJAH F. PURDY, Grand Sachem.

TAMMANY WARRIORS AT GETTYSBURG

On the battlefield at Gettysburg one of the most conspicuous memorial shafts is that commemorating the valor and intrepidity of the Sons of Tammany in that memorable struggle. The monument is erected in honor of the Forty-second New York (Tammany) Regiment. The regiment was officially mustered into service in June, 1861, and although officially mustered out on July 13, 1864, practically all of its survivors joined other units and remained in service until the close of the war.

The Forty-second New York Infantry was raised and organized by the Tammany Society, in the City of New York, in May and June, 1861. The regiment was taken to the field by the Grand Sachem of that year, Colonel William D. Kennedy, who died a few days later in Washington. Colonel Kennedy was succeeded by Captain Milton Cogswell, an accomplished officer of the Regular Army. Among the Sachems of Tammany who were conspicuous in recruiting the regiment were Elijah F. Purdy, Daniel E. Delevan, Isaac Bell, Thomas Dunlap, Smith Ely and John Clancy.

Several other regiments and brigades were recruited and equipped during 1861 by leaders of the Tammany Society. Among them were the Chasseurs, of which Colonel John Cochrane, a Sachem of the Society, was the commanding officer. Brigades were organized by General Thomas Francis Meagher, General Daniel E. Sickles, and others. For his activity and valor, Sachem Cochrane was brevetted a Brigadier General. General Sickles' Brigade was composed of five regiments. The famous Sixty-ninth Regiment, the Fighting Irish, was part of General Meagher's brigade.

By special act of the New York State Legislature an official state record was made as to the part New York soldiers had in the battle of Gettysburg and other Civil War battles and more than ten years research was made by a state commission.

In the final report of the Commission the valor and bravery of the Tammany soldiers is recorded at length and published by the state in three volumes under the title "New York at Gettysburg." It was that battle that historians believe marked the turning point in the war between the states.



J. B. Lyon Print

F. J. Severence, Photo

**42D NEW YORK INFANTRY MEMORIAL,
GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD
On Cemetery Ridge, Near the "Clump of Trees"**

According to the official record not only at Gettysburg but at Chancellorsville, Antietam, Ball's Bluff and elsewhere the regiments recruited by Tammany rendered conspicuous service.

The Tammany battle monument was dedicated at Gettysburg on September 24, 1891. The chief orator at the ceremony was Major General Daniel E. Sickles, who had suffered great physical disability on the field of battle. In reviewing the deeds of the Tammany warriors General Sickles said:

"The Forty-second Regiment took part in thirty-six battles or engagements, of which nineteen were major conflicts. The largest losses of the regiment were in the great battles at Antietam and Gettysburg, in which it lost eighteen officers and two hundred and twenty-three enlisted men."

"In the Chancellorsville campaign the Forty-second (Tammany) Regiment, then under command of Colonel Mallon, was present at the assault and capture of Fredericksburg. In the first and second days of fighting at Gettysburg the regiment rendered distinguished service and on the third and final day of the battle, Colonel Mallon, then commanding a brigade, was killed while rallying his own—Forty-second Regiment—under heavy fire."

"The Forty-second Tammany Regiment at Antietam, then with Sedgwick's Division of the Second Corps, in its charge lost one hundred and eighty out of the three hundred and forty-five men who were engaged. Colonel Edmund C. Charles of the Forty-second was critically wounded at Nelson's Farm, one of the positions of the seven days battle.

"Meagher's and Nugent's Sixty-ninth regiment lost more men in battle, killed and wounded, than any infantry regiment in the State of New York. Sickles First Excelsior Regiment suffered at Williamsburg seventy-nine killed and one hundred and sixty-eight wounded, including seven officers killed and twenty-two wounded out of eighty-three officers present. At Antietam, eight color bearers of the Irish Brigade were shot down at Bloody Lane, but the brigade carried the position. At Fredericksburg the color sergeant of the Sixty-ninth was found dead with his flag wrapped around his body, a bullet having pierced the flag and his heart.

"There is a day and an hour in the annals of every nation when its life hangs on the issue of a battle; such a battle was Gettysburg. Right here in the thickest of the combat stood your own gallant Forty-second regiment under the eye of the young and gifted Mallon."

The Tammany monument at Gettysburg is a splendid shaft surmounted by an Indian brave, standing, with bow in hand, at

the entrance to his tepee. On the main face of the column, in addition to the inscription, are a shamrock and the seal of the State of New York. The inscription on the main face reads:

42nd
New York
Infantry
3rd Brigade
2nd Division
2nd Corps
TAMMANY
REGIMENT

On the reverse face is inscribed:

This Regiment was raised
and organized by Colonel
William D. Kennedy under
the patronage of the
TAMMANY SOCIETY, and
of the Union Defence
Committee of
New York City

(Left side)
Mustered into U. S.
service, June 22, 1861.
Total enrollment, 1,210.
Participated
in 19 Battles.
Killed 92
Wounded 328
Missing 298
Mustered out
July 13, 1864.

(Right side)
July 2, 1863—Went to
Support of 3rd Corps.
About 5 P. M.
Held this
Position July 3, and
Assisted in repulsing
The assault of
Pickett's Division.
Casualties:
Killed 15, wounded 55,
Missing 4.

The Tammany Society was well represented at the dedicatory exercises. In addition to the principal oration by General Sickles, addresses were made by General Ely J. Parker, U. S. V., Bartow S. Weeks, a leading member of the Society and commander-in-chief of the Sons of Veterans, Senator Edward McPherson, representing the Gettysburg Memorial Association, and others.

A patriotic ode was composed and read by William Geoghegan.

NOTABLE TAMMANY CELEBRATIONS.

Immediately the war between the States was at an end the Society of Tammany led the nation in extending aid, fellowship and renewal of brotherly love to the leaders and to the people of

the Southern States. Tammany insisted that there must be no policy of reprisal and that the statesmen of the Nation must rebuild a re-United States based upon justice, co-operation and equality.

It was with these principles in mind that the Society of Tammany held a great celebration incidental to the laying of the corner-stone of a new Tammany Hall in East 14th Street on July 4, 1867, and, while this splendid building was still being erected, invited the National leaders of the Democracy to hold the first National convention following the close of the Civil War in the new New York Wigwam in 1868. The Democratic National Committee accepted the invitation and the consequent gathering here of political leaders from every State in the Union did much to lessen the tension that followed the epochal struggle.

The Independence Day celebration of the Tammany Society in 1867, of which the laying of the corner-stone of the new great Wigwam was an incident, attracted nation-wide attention. Mayor John T. Hoffman, afterward Governor of the State, was at that time Grand Sachem of the Society and a leading figure in the celebration.

For half a century the members of the Tammany Society had been meeting in their own headquarters at the corner of Nassau and Frankfort Streets, where the New York *Sun* was subsequently located. Many of the active members of the Society were reluctant to abandon the old building, which was adjacent to the City Hall, French's, Leggett's and other big hotels and was really in the nerve center of the city. They agreed, however, that the trend of business and social life was northward and so selected a site in East Fourteenth Street.

The report of the Independence Day celebration and setting of the corner-stone of the new great Wigwam, which follows, is from the New York *Herald* of that day:

"The laying of the foundation stone of the new hall of the Tammany Society between Third and Fourth Avenues on Fourteenth Street took place yesterday morning at ten o'clock.

"At nine o'clock the Sachems, Braves and Warriors assembled in a temporary council chamber in the Masonic Hall and soon afterward the doors were thrown open for the admission of invited guests, friends of the Society and the Democrats of New York. At 10 o'clock the assemblage formed in procession opposite Masonic Hall and, preceded by the Seventh Regiment band,



Tammany Hall, in East 14th Street
Occupied by the Society of Tammany and the Democratic
Organization from July 4, 1868, to July 4, 1928

marched to the site upon which the Society proposes erecting the new council chamber.

“The Tammany Hall that is to be will be erected under the supervision of Thomas R. Jackson, architect. It is to contain committee rooms, concert rooms, library and club rooms. The structure was to be three stories high with a frontage of 116 feet on Fourteenth Street, with a depth of 122 feet. It will be of red brick and marble. It provided for a library 32 x 40 feet, a concert room 52 x 74 feet and a ceiling 32 feet high with a stage, gallery and about half a dozen private boxes. The auditorium will comfortably seat from 800 to 1,000 persons.

“The principal hall is to be 104 feet front and 110 feet deep. A platform at one end will accommodate about 100 persons, and a gallery running around three sides of the building will add to its utility for public meetings. A pediment in the center of the new structure will bear the words ‘TAMMANY SOCIETY’ and on either side ‘1786 and 1807’ while a niche will display the statue of an Indian of more than life size. The cost of the building is estimated at about \$300,000.

“Soon after ten o’clock Mayor John T. Hoffman, wearing the insignia of the Society, followed by the members and guests arrived at the site for laying of the foundation stone. The announcement that the ceremony would take place on the anniversary of the nation’s independence drew together a great crowd of spectators at 14th Street and 3d Avenue. The band discoursing music at intervals.

“Deposited in the casket placed in the stone were gold and silver coins of the United States minted in 1867, History of the Society, by R. G. Horton, Program of the day and copy of the invitation, copy of the New York *Ledger*, manuscript of the oration that was delivered by Gulian C. Verplanck, photographs of the Sachems, Valentine’s *Manual*, Mayor’s message, copies of the daily papers of July 4, 1867, photograph of the old corner-stone, report by White, Morris and Co., bankers, on price of gold and United States securities on July 3, 1867, coins of 1800 and 1803, Manual of the Board of Education, portrait of Washington, Constitution of the United States, Declaration of Independence with a biography of its signers.

“Upon laying the corner-stone Grand Sachem Hoffman in addressing the assemblage said:

“ ‘Brothers and friends—in the name of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order and by direction of the Council of Sachems I proceed to lay the corner-stone of a new Hall, which will, for the next half century, be the headquarters of the Democracy of New York, where the great principles of civil and religious liberty, constitutional law and national unity, which form the great corner-stone of the Republic will always be advocated and maintained. The anniversary of the birthday of American Independence has been well chosen for the ceremony. Standing here today and recollecting that “liberty is our life” let us reaffirm and re-declare the sentiments of the great Declaration, and renew our pledge to erect here, before the next anniversary, an edifice which, in the greatness of its proportions and the perfection of all its parts, shall be emblematic of that perfect union of the States and of the people upon which depends the peace, prosperity and happiness of the American nation.’

“At the conclusion of his address the Grand Sachem announced that all would proceed to Irving Hall, nearby, where the Declaration of Independence would be read and speeches delivered by eminent speakers.

“As the members and guests entered the hall the Seventh Regiment band played national airs. The hall was decorated with flags and bunting, and an immense flag was spread across the rear of the platform. To its right was this motto:

The Democratic party, upon its union and success depends the future of the Republic. He who would seek to lower its standard or detract its councils is an enemy of the country.

“To its left another read:

The Tammany Society, founded in 1786, in its very foundation identified with the establishment of the Union; ever faithful to its obligations, she has added another proof of her devotion by sending her sons forth to maintain and protect it.

“Mayor Hoffman and his fellow Sachems in the regalia of the Columbian Order were seated on the dais. Among those with them were Judges Monell, Garvin, Ahearne, Alker, and Russell, General Frederick Conkling, Isaac Bell, John Burrill, Douglas Taylor, A. Okey Hall and many others.

“The Declaration of Independence was read by John Burrill after which Grand Sachem Hoffman in presenting Gulian Ver-

planck, the orator of the occasion, said when the corner-stone of Tammany was laid in 1811 Gulian C. Verplanck had arrived at ripe manhood, and today he comes before you with the snows of eighty winters upon his head, but with a mind as strong and vigorous as his reputation is pure and unsullied.

HISTORY FROM A VENERABLE BRAVE.

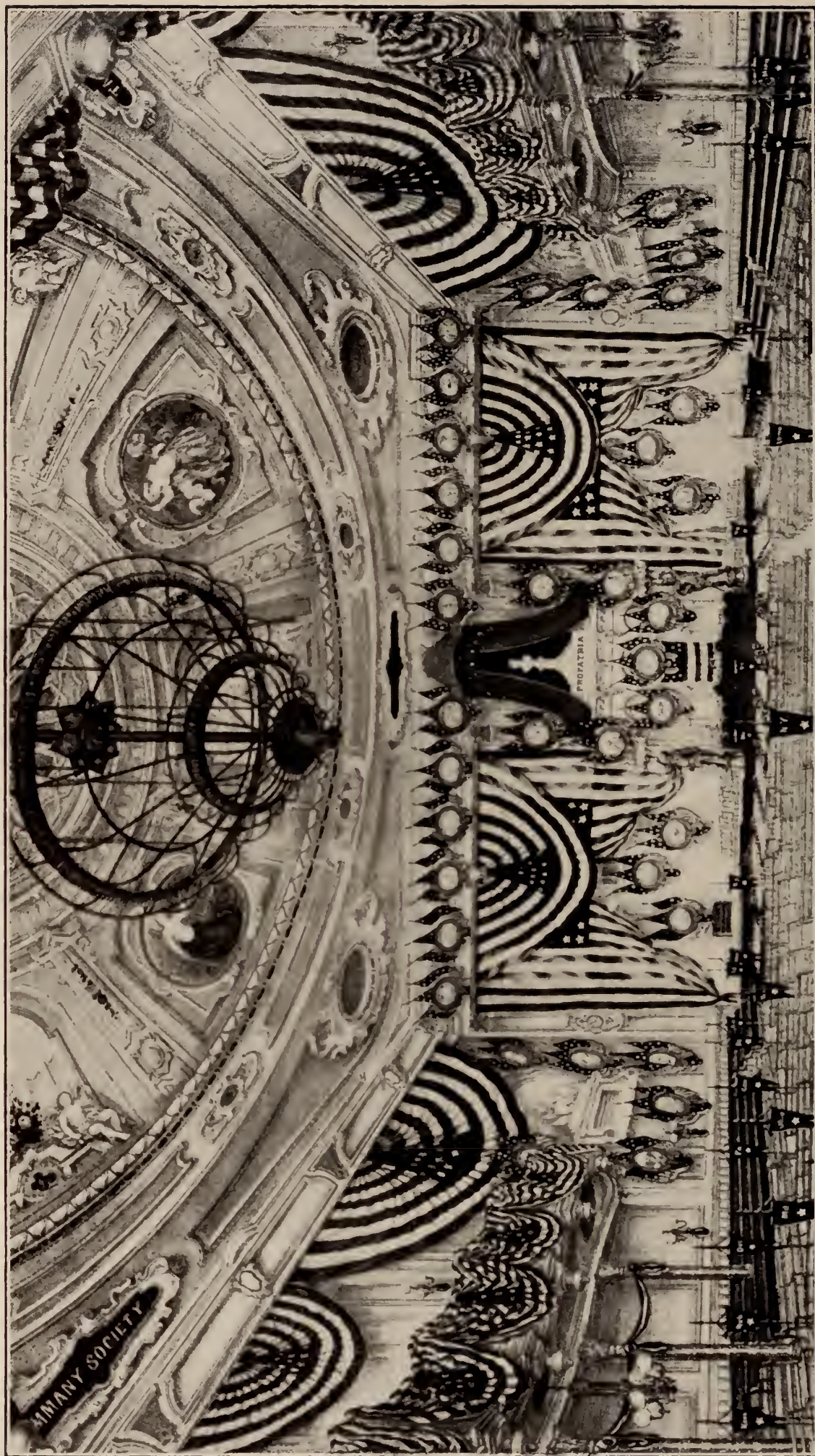
“In his address Mr. Verplanck said:

“‘I congratulate you on the anniversary of the auspicious day which released our land from dependence on a foreign power. I especially congratulate you, the sons of Tammany, that you can look back through the past dark years of civil strife with just pride—feeling that in the hour of trial you have kept the faith, the unwavering loyalty to the constitution and the liberties of the people that gave character, honor and power to the Tammany Society from its very foundation. I congratulate you on this occasion, the ceremony of the laying of the corner-stone of a Hall, which in its magnitude will give strong evidence that this ancient association has fully kept step with the advance of our great commercial metropolis and the increasing power and influence of our noble State.

“‘I am old enough to remember the original Tammany Wigwam, the pigpen, it was contemptuously called by our political adversaries. It was an humble wooden building, attached to Worthy Brother Martlings tavern adjoining; the tavern was upon the site of the hall you have just left, and the Wigwam adorned it on Nassau street. Humble as it was it corresponded with the little City in which it was founded.

“‘Just above it was open country, the fields beginning at City Hall, for the city extended higher only along the East River and the banks of the Hudson. Above College Place there were farms, country seats and clusters of small country houses, gradually growing into villages. In that small wooden hall on the outward verge of our little city, the Tammany Society held its meetings, festive anniversaries, and when occasion called for it the political gathering of citizens who felt and thought with them.

“‘Yet in that wooden barn-like building the men of Tammany effected great political results, producing an effect on the public mind which changed the vote of the City, which turned the electoral vote of the State. This vote by placing the authority of



Interior of Tammany Hall During the National Democratic Convention of 1868

the Federal government in new hands, established the foundation of that political faith Tammany has never forgotten nor abandoned.'

"After referring to the sterling probity of Elijah F. Purdy, Walter Bowne and other Grand Sachems of the past Mr. Verplanck continuing said 'loud clamors have been raised and angry charges made that this probity has not descended to later days; nor is to be denied that in the growth of wealth, and its temptations the same old purity has not always been preserved. The brushtail of St. Tammany gives no one exception from the infirmities of human nature. Artful men at times have won your confidence and betrayed it. But you have men as able and as honest as in past times and recent elections to our highest station have proved it.

" 'The Hall you are about to rear is, I trust, destined to witness the festive anniversaries of our Society and the great gatherings of our electors during many years of peace and prosperity, under the guardianship of recovered and unimpaired constitutional freedom. Yet happy it may be—May Heaven avert so fearful a calamity—that hereafter some widespread delusion may for a time separate you and the principles you maintain from the confidence of a majority of the people of our land; that these sacred principles and the rights and liberties which they proclaim and support be for a time prostrated in the dust and trampled upon by the foot of usurping and unscrupulous power; in such a crisis that Hall will become as it were, a lofty watch tower on the works of some impregnable fortress, defying every assault. On that tower your Chief and mighty men will stand to watch and guard, to raise the loud alarm on every approach of danger.'

"Following the oration Mayor Hoffman read the following letter from President Johnson:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., July 2, 1867.

Hon. John F. Hoffman,
Grand Sachem.
Sir:—

I have received the invitation of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order to participate in the ceremonies of that order on the fourth instant, the ninety-first anniversary of our national independence.

I would be very happy to comply with the invitation but

the time I have already spent from the capitol renders my presence necessary here at this time.

I heartily unite with the Society in the hope the day is not far distant when the whole people will be once more united in the bonds of concord, unity and fraternity on which our nation was founded by the fathers, and on which alone it can be great. Trusting that the celebration will be as pleasant and successful as you desire. I have the honor to be with great respect,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ANDREW JOHNSON.

“Mayor Hoffman also read the following letter from Secretary of State Seward:

State Department,
Washington, D. C., July 2, 1867.

Hon. John F. Hoffman,
Grand Sachem of Tammany Society,
City Hall, N. Y.

Dear Sir:—

I desire that you will accept my thanks for your kind invitation of the 24th ulto., to meet with the Tammany Society on the fourth of July, and to participate in the interesting ceremonies which are to take place on that occasion. I sincerely regret that official cares will deprive me of the enjoyment I should derive from hearing the discourse of my venerable friend Mr. Verplanck. I am, dear sir,

Your very obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

“Mayor Hoffman also read letters from Governor English of Connecticut, Hiram Denlo, Montgomery Blair, David R. Floyd Jones, William B. Lawrence, Samuel Sloan, A. K. Hoffman, J. K. Cambrelling and C. W. Clinton.

“The ceremonies concluded with Grand Sachem Hoffman calling for three cheers for the ‘Union, the Constitution and the old Democracy—that had never betrayed the Flag’ which the large assemblage responded to with the cheers and a tiger. To the strains of the ‘Star Spangled Banner’ rendered by the band the meeting dispersed.”

NOTABLE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS HERE.

Although Horatio Seymour of New York and Francis P. Blair, Jr., candidates named respectively for President and Vice-President by the Democratic National Convention of 1868, in the new Tammany Wigwam, polled an enormous vote throughout the country, General U. S. Grant, hero of the war between the States, was elected. The popular vote of the nation that year was Seymour 2,709,613 and Grant 3,015,071.

The Tammany Society, after rendering a great National service in reconciling the social and political factions that cropped up after peace had been restored to the States, went placidly on its way in the succeeding years. The new home of the Society in East 14th Street became one of the focal points of interest to sightseers from all parts of the country.

When the Democratic National Convention met in New York City once more in 1924 the Tammany Society kept open house for convention delegates and their friends. Women delegates seemed particularly interested in the Society and its history.

When a Sachem of the Society, Governor Alfred E. Smith, was nominated for the Presidency at the Democratic National Convention, held in Houston, Texas, in 1928 the policies and performances of the Tammany Society at once became matters of nationwide debate and interest. They were discussed in a thousand forums.

SACHEM STATES TAMMANY'S STATUS.

In response to general inquiries and on invitation of the publishers of *Scribners Magazine* Sachem George W. Olvany, then leader of the Tammany political organization, contributed to and had published in that monthly at the height of the Presidential campaign a scholarly and thorough explanation of the Tammany Society and the Tammany political organization, setting forth their separate and combined purposes and aims.

In Sachem Olvany's contribution to *Scribners Magazine* he wrote :

"Because the Democratic organization committees meet in the building of the Tammany Society, the New York Democratic organization has been known for a century past as Tammany Hall.

"The Tammany Society came into being in 1786, and has been conspicuous in public affairs since the birth of the Democratic party. The Society has kept alight the fires of democracy. It is more respected, more militant and more active today than it has ever been. It occupies an unique place in American history. It has been since its incorporation a patriotic and fraternal institution. Its membership has included Presidents, Governors, Cabinet Officers, United States Senators, Ambassadors, jurists, bankers, university leaders and men in all walks of life down to laborers for a daily wage.



Charles F. Murphy Standing by the Engrossed Copy of the Declaration of Independence in Tammany Hall

"The Tammany Society, although officially wholly apart from politics, espoused the cause of democracy from the foundation of the present national form of government. It has been for democratic and liberal principles, as Thomas Jefferson enunciated them, since Jefferson challenged the aristocratic and undemocratic principles laid down by Alexander Hamilton and his Federal party associates at the beginning of the life of the nation.

"Jefferson found in the 'Liberty Boys' of Revolutionary days, and in the Tammany Society, which succeeded the Liberty boys at the close of the Revolution, advocates of manhood suffrage, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion, upon which the Democratic party was founded. The New York Tammany Society's espousal of Jeffersonian Democratic principles was taken up by Tammany societies in Philadelphia, Ohio, Kentucky and New Jersey. After Jefferson had vanquished the Federalist party the Tammany Societies, except that in New York, dwindled, and because of lack of activity ceased to exist everywhere except in New York City.

"The Tammany Society of New York has had a home of its own since 1790. Its first home was called a wigwam and museum. The society has since then had a permanent meeting place and since 1817 the meeting place of the society has also been the meeting place of the Democratic party committees in New York County.

"In the one hundred and forty-two years of its active existence the Tammany Society, as has been the case with practically every active organization, whether it be political, social, or other, has not been able to keep a few scamps from membership. The Tammany Society and the Democratic organization in New York City, however, promptly proscribed, prosecuted and punished every evil-doer found in its ranks. In the days following the Civil War a clique of local office-holders was proven faithless. The leaders of the party promptly disowned and prosecuted them. It was these loyal leaders who came into power in Tammany following the party housecleaning. Charles O'Connor and Samuel J. Tilden, conspicuous members of the Society, and Horatio Seymour, a Sachem of the society, were all honored by Tammany and the Democracy of New York for their activity in ridding the Democratic party and the society of the evil faction that for a short time fastened itself on the membership. Tilden, Seymour



SACHEM JAMES J. DOOLING

and O'Connor were all nominated for the Presidency. The latter, however, declined to run.

"The Tammany Society, from its earliest days, prospered by reason of its tolerance, liberalism, and democracy. Its principles were largely in opposition to those of the Society of the Cincinnati, which stood in the popular mind for aristocracy, and had the backing of the Federalist group led by Alexander Hamilton and John Jay. The Society of the Cincinnati was made up to a great extent of large landholders, bankers and the like who had been officers of the Revolutionary period, who were either skeptical about entering upon the 'experiment' of popular government or who believed that there should be a class distinction, in which 'men of affairs' should receive titles and be rulers and hereditary nobles of the new nation. The Tammany Society, on the other hand, was for the exact equality of all, rabidly republican, resentful of the disfranchisement of the Revolutionary soldiers, and sympathetic with the revolutionists in France. The rival rallies and parades of the partisans of the two societies roused the populace, and after the supporters of Thomas Jefferson had sided with the Society of Tammany, the standing of that organization in the popular mind in New York City was well established. Alexander Hamilton characterized the public processions and mass meetings of the Society of Tammany as grotesque spectacles. The Federalists and former Tories, following his lead, derided and vilified Tammany.

"Since Hamilton's time, at the end of the eighteenth century, attacks upon Tammany, chiefly by the reactionary elements of the community, have been continuous. They had their inception in the espousal by Tammany of the principles of Jeffersonian democracy, and have been largely directed against Jeffersonian tenets. Those who distrust the common people and are apologetic in discussing those guarantees of liberty and equality which Jefferson had written into the Constitution, lead in attacks upon Tammany and its principles.

"Tammany has always championed law and order. Its sons and daughters have been in the forefront in battles for the preservation of the Constitution and of the nation. In times of strife it has raised and equipped regiments of soldiers and its members have volunteered for service in defense of the republic, in suppression of lawlessness, and in alleviation of suffering and want. Its aims

and accomplishments have attracted not only the native sons of New York but thousands of those who, born abroad and in other sections of the country, have become New Yorkers.

“In troublous days following the close of the Civil War it was to New York and Tammany that the leaders of the distressed and



SACHEM ALFRED E. SMITH
Governor of New York for four terms. Democratic
Nominee for President 1928

almost prostrate South looked for sympathetic guidance. The first Democratic national convention following the struggle between the North and the South was held in Tammany Hall. At that time leaders of the Southern cause were still being harassed and proscribed. A distinguished leader of Tammany, Charles O'Connor, had been the leading counsel in the defense of the President of the Confederate States. Congress had enacted sev-

eral measures for the punishment of the south and republican members of both the Senate and House of Representatives were still bringing forward new proposals of oppression.

“When the Democratic convention met in Tammany Hall one of the bills under debate in Congress was to determine what further measures were to be enacted ‘against those who endeavored in the late conflict to dismember the republic’. A similar republican measure was entitled ‘An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States’ providing that Southern States should be divided into five zones, each under a military form of government to be operated under authority of presidential appointees.

“It was to Tammany Democrats of New York that Southern delegates looked for sympathy and friendship. August Belmont, a Tammany Sachem, who had been a delegate to the Democratic national convention in 1860 and chairman of the Democratic national committee from 1864 to 1872, cordially welcomed the Democratic hosts, particularly the Southern delegates, ‘to the home of the Society of Tammany and to the temple erected to the goddess of liberty by her stanchest defenders and most fervent worshippers.’ The convention was marked by a resumption of cordial relations by delegates from all sections of the country, many of whom, for years prior to the gathering, had been on opposing sides. The Southern delegates joined heartily in the selection of Horatio Seymour, chairman of the convention, Tammany Sachem and Democratic Governor, as the candidate for President. Tammany and The New York Democracy made a gallant fight in the national campaign, and the electoral vote of New York was cast for Seymour. . . .

“It is the human element in Tammany that has given it strength. The people of New York are the largest hearted in the world, and when they put their stamp of approval upon an organization it is because that organization is entitled to approval.

“The service rendered by Tammany is well described by Charles A. Beard, a leading authority on political affairs in the United States and a long-time director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, which has been one of the most aggressive and unrelenting critics of Tammany and its policies. Mr. Beard in a review of Tammany said: ‘Tammany is our greatest social-

service agency, and it holds its power because it understands sympathetically the needs and trials of the masses. Its leaders visit those who are sick and in distress. Tammany asks no questions and fills out no pink and green cards. Its office hours are not from ten to four, but continuous . . . Its virtue is its humanity, its understanding of the human needs of the common man . . . Under Tammany Mayors the Health Department of New York was transformed into the greatest single service of its kind in the world.'

"Tammany, since its inception, has maintained and will continue to maintain the principles of democracy laid down by Thomas Jefferson. They are:

"Equal and Exact Justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political;

"Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none;

"The preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad;

"The support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies;

"The diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason;

"Freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected; freedom of religion and freedom of the press;

"The supremacy of the civil over the military authority; a well-disciplined militia—our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them;

"Encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid;

"The honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith;

"A jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword where peaceful remedies are unprovided;

"Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority—the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism."

"With these principles for guidance, Tammany has no misgivings as to past, present or future."

TAMMANY PATRIOTISM.

Tammany since its inception has been the leader in patriotic and civic movements. The following is a brief outline of its contributions to American ideals:

1772-1782—Tammany Societies in the Colonies were the rallying point of opposition to England and were leaders of revolutionary sentiment.

1800-1820—The Tammany Societies in the U. S. led the struggle for popular rule and equal rights.

1790—Conciliated the Frontier Indian Tribes who were hostile to the new Government.

Established the American or Tammany Museum—the first Museum in New York and the forerunner of our Historical societies, Zoological gardens, and public museums.

1792, Oct. 12—Celebrated the 300th anniversary of the Discovery of America with elaborate ceremony.

1792-1796—Supported the French Revolution and the Freedom of France.

1794, April 29, 30—Worked on the Fortifications around New York Harbor when war with England seemed imminent.

1803-1804—Advocated the Louisiana Purchase.

1806, April—Society marched in procession at the funeral of John Pierce, an American sailor, who was killed by a shot from the British sloop *Leander* off Sandy Hook.

1807, July—Public Mourning for the Sailors of the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake* who were killed by shots from the British sloop *Leopard*.

July 22—Organized the "Tammanial War Band" and offered their services to President Jefferson in anticipation of war with England.

1808—Erected a vault at the Wallabout; collected from the beaches and interred the bones of 11,000 Soldiers and Sailors who perished on the British Prison Ships during the Revolution.

1812, February 26—Adopted a resolution recommending immediate war with Great Britain.

1812, July 7—Held mass meeting to approve the Declaration of War against England.

1813—Supported Daniel D. Tompkins for Governor on a platform of "Sailors' Rights, Union of the States and Freedom of Trade on the High Seas."

1813, September 16—Public procession at the funeral of Capt. James Lawrence, who fell exclaiming, "Don't give up the ship."

December 1—Tendered banquet to General Harrison.

1814, January 11—Tendered banquet to Commodore Perry, the hero of the naval battle of Lake Erie, who sent the laconic message, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

August 31—One thousand five hundred members of the Tammany Society worked on the fortification around Brooklyn under the direction of Matthew L. Davis, the Grand Sachem.

1815, February—Celebrated the news of Peace, with illuminations and transparencies that attracted national attention. Entertained elaborately the American Peace Commissions on their return from Ghent.

During the war, its members subscribed heavily to the bond issues for war funds; they filled with distinction many positions in the army from private to Major-General.

1819, October 5—Adopted mourning for 30 days on the death of Commodore Perry.

October 11—Published an address on National Economy, Home Industry and Public Schools, which attracted wide attention for its sound principles of political science.

1820-1821—Conducted a campaign for Manhood Suffrage which resulted in victory in the Constitutional Convention of 1821.

1821, June 14—Celebration of the Victory of election reform.

1823, October 3—Recommended an amendment to the U. S. Constitution to elect the President by direct vote.

1824—Tendered reception to Lafayette on his visit to the U. S.

1825, July 4—Sympathized with Bolivar, The Great Liberator, who established the independence of Peru and Spanish Colonies of South America.

1826-1827—Reduced the term of residence for eligibility to citizenship to 5 years.

1830, November 26—Held a large mass meeting in honor of the French Victories over Charles X, presided over by President Monroe.

1831—Secured the repeal of the Debtors' Prison Law.

1832—Supported President Jackson and his nullification proclamation against secession; it adopted and used as its slogan until

the conclusion of the Civil War Jackson's famous words, "The Union must and shall be preserved."

1835—The Common Council of the City, under Tammany Hall, loaned \$6,000,000 at 5% to rebuild the part of the city destroyed by the great fire of 1835.

1839-1857—Conducted a strenuous fight for religious liberty in politics, and fought and destroyed Know-Nothingism in New York City.

1842, May—Sympathized with Dorr in his struggle for political liberty in Rhode Island and endorsed his tocsin, "Liberty shall be restored to the people."

1845, January 13—Passed resolution favoring the annexation of Texas.

1846, June 1—Held an enormous Mass Meeting on the impending Mexican War.

1847, February 27—Endorsed Polk's War policy against Mexico and volunteered their services during the war.

1861-1865—During the Civil War Tammany raised and equipped, at its own expense, a regiment, The Tammany Jackson Guard, 42nd New York Infantry. In 1891, a monument to the Regiment was erected by the Tammany Society on the battle field of Gettysburg.

William H. Seward, Secretary of State during the war, paid the following tribute to Tammany for its patriotic attitude in the great conflict:

I have had some difference in my time with the Tammany Society, but I long ago forgot them all, when I recall the fact that the Society has never once failed to observe and honor the anniversary of National Independence, and the further fact that during the recent Civil War the Tammany Society sent its sons to fight for the Union, and, with unswerving fidelity, heartily supported the Federal Government.

1866-1873—Favored a tolerant and generous policy for reconstructing the states that seceded from the Union.

1892, October 12—Celebrated the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America with appropriate ceremony.

1898—Raised and equipped a regiment for the Spanish-American War and tendered it to President McKinley, it, however, was never mustered into service.

1917—After the United States declared war upon Germany (April 7), Tammany Hall unanimously passed the following resolution :

Whereas, the President, acting under the authority granted him by the Congress of the United States, has declared this country to be in a state of war and has called upon the citizens to render such aid as may be within their power ; and

Whereas, It therefore becomes the privilege and the patriotic duty of every citizen to tender to the Nation such support as he may be capable of, for the energetic prosecution of the war and the achievement of an honorable and decisive victory ; now therefore be it

Resolved, That the Democratic County Committee of the County of New York hereby pledges the loyal and united support of its members to the President of the United States, and tenders to the Government the free and unrestricted use of the buildings constituting the headquarters of the District Committees in the thirty-one districts in the County of New York, as well as all services that this Committee numbering six thousand (6,000) can render, whether for the recruiting of men, the development of economic resources or the relief of those to whom the war will bring distress, in order to sustain the President in the maintaining of the honor of the Nation, the defense of our citizens by land and by sea, and the establishment throughout the world of those principles of justice, freedom, and democracy of which this country is the impartial advocate, and for the promotion and maintenance of which this party was organized ; further

Resolved, That a Committee of four, of whom the Chairman of this County Committee shall be one, be appointed by the Chairman for the purpose of delivering to the President at the Capitol of the Nation a copy of this resolution, together with a statement of the location of such assembly district headquarters, and of such facts as will show the available resources of the Democratic County Committee.

It is needless to say that Tammany Hall had a great many of its members fighting the cause of democracy in the trenches overseas, and that it achieved a great record in the sale of Liberty Bonds.

1919—Favored self-determination for Ireland at the Paris Peace Conference.

In every crisis through which our American Government has passed, Tammany has been in the forefront of the fight for freedom and Democracy. Its labors have perpetuated the principles of liberty and independence on which our government was founded.

TAMMANY IN "AMERICANA ENCYCLOPEDIA."

Accomplishments of the Society of Tammany during the entire One hundred and Fifty years of its existence, as set down by the accomplished, unbiased, and candid editors of the Americana Encyclopedia, a national publication of high repute and published in Volume 26 of that work of reference, are recorded as follows:

TAMMANY SOCIETY, or COLUMBIAN ORDER, The, was founded 12 May 1789 by William Mooney, ex-Revolutionary soldier (two weeks after the national government was established), as "a fraternity of patriots solemnly consecrated to the independence. the popular liberty and the federal union of the country." It had for its objects (1) the perpetuity of democratic-republican institutions; (2) benevolent care of Revolutionary soldiers and others of its members, "their widows and orphans, and others who may be proper objects of their charity." The membership was composed of those who were known before the Revolution as "Sons of Liberty" and "Sons of Saint Tammany"; societies formed to promote the cause of independence.

The society was opposed to the Saint George, Saint David and Saint Andrew societies, whose Tory members openly proclaimed fealty to George III. After the Revolution, Alexander Hamilton (q.v.) removed the political disabilities of these Tories (1787) and they became the foundation of the Federalist party, and being rich and influential fought corruptly for Hamilton's scheme of a Federal President and Senate, to hold office for life, who should appoint the State governments and dominate Congress. Many of these Loyalist Tories were elevated to office immediately on their enfranchisement. This enraged the "Liberty Boys" who fought England's soldiers, and suffered repeated betrayal by these same Loyalists whose plots were many against the patriots.

Many of these Tory conspiracies were successful and sent numbers of patriots to the charnel prison ships to meet death; others failed, as when the Tory mayor of New York, Mathews, plotted to kidnap Washington and assassinate his staff. The hatred bred by these and kindred infamies was fanned to flame by the disfranchisement of Revolutionary soldiers whose means and property were meagre. In 1777 the constitutions drafted and operative in New York State gave the right to vote only to those who owned "freehold to the value of 100 pounds, free of

all debts." This gave full political power to the rich Loyalist Tories who monopolized trade and banking privileges, while it disqualified the bulk of those who fought in the patriot army and those who were punished by poverty for nobly sustaining the Revolutionary cause.

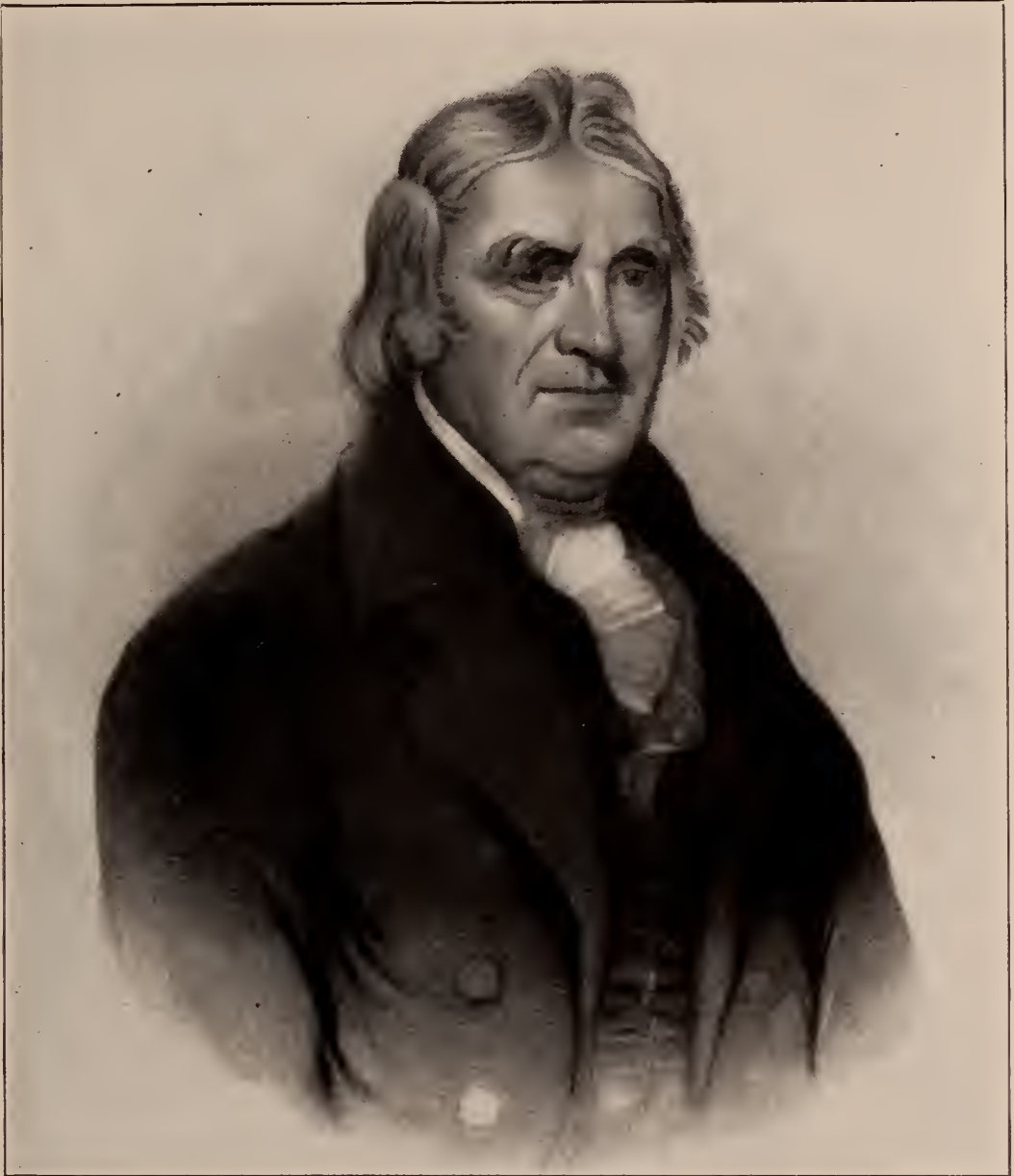
The founding of the Society of the Cincinnati augmented the existing bitterness and hatred. Jefferson and others pointed out its menace to the liberties of the people and its monarchical plan to found an order of hereditary nobles, with militarism as a basis. The Tammany Society was founded as a crowning protest to these portentous happenings and to discredit Alexander Hamilton's prophecy that the democratic-republican scheme of government was doomed to disastrous failure.

Early History.—The Tammany Society was divided into 13 tribes corresponding to the 13 original States. The Society adopted Indian titles and ceremonials and the forms and usages of the aborigines to the fullest extent practical. The wigwam was the term applied to the Society's place of meeting. Indian symbols and mottoes were used to designate the 13 tribes as follows:

- The Eagle Tribe, New York State.
- The Otter Tribe, New Hampshire.
- The Panther Tribe, Massachusetts.
- The Beaver Tribe, Rhode Island.
- The Bear Tribe, Connecticut.
- The Tortoise Tribe, New Jersey.
- The Tiger Tribe, Delaware.
- The Kattlesnake Tribe, Pennsylvania.
- The Fox Tribe, Maryland.
- The Deer Tribe, Virginia.
- The Buffalo Tribe, North Carolina.
- The Raccoon Tribe, South Carolina.
- The Wolf Tribe, Georgia.

The 13 sachems (or trustees) annually elected a grand sachem or president. The *kitchi okcinaw*, or great grand sachem, was an honorary office conferred upon the following Presidents of the United States: Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams and Jackson. The office was abolished after General Jackson's incumbency. The Sagamore was the master of ceremonies and the Wiskinkie the sergeant-

at-arms. According to the true Indian fashion the year was divided into seasons and these subdivided into moons. The era began with the discovery of America by Columbus and included the year of the Declaration of Independence and of the founding



GEORGE CLINTON

**First Governor of New York and Vice-President of the
United States in 1809
Sachem of the Tammany Society, 1801-1802**

of the Society. (New York City, 3 Dec. 1903, is written by the Society thus: Manhattan Season of Snows, 12th moon, year of discovery 411th, of Independence 127th and of Institution 114th).

The Society motto is "Freedom our Rock." The following toasts at the 4 July 1789 banquet illustrate the Society's sen-

timents from its formation. Thirteen cannon shots followed each toast. These are the two first toasts: (1) "May honor, virtue and patriotism ever be the distinguished characteristics of the Sons of Saint Tammany." (2) "The head men and chiefs of the Grand Council of the Thirteen United Fires—may they convince our foes not only of their courage to lift, prudence to direct, and clemency to withhold the hatchet, but of their power to inflict it in their country's cause."

Achievements.—The national government repeatedly failed to conclude a treaty of peace with the warlike Creek Indians whom the Federal government was anxious to placate. The Tammany Society undertook the conciliation. The Celtic half-breed chief McGillivray, who led the Creek tribe of Indians, with 28 of his chiefs and warriors were brought to New York by Tammany and given a banquet 2 Aug. 1790. The Tammany braves were in full Indian costume when they escorted McGillivray and his warriors to President Washington. The treaty was signed 13 Aug. 1790.

The Society in June 1790 founded a museum for "the preservation, collection, and study of Indian relics, etc." In 1791 the Society, under the direction of John Pintard, its first sagamore, founded many educational and progressive institutions which later developed great efficiency under the Society's fostering care. Two of these institutions have since merited national recognition, namely, New York Historical Society (q.v.) and the Academy of Design (q.v.).

In 1793, when France in desperation struggled to overthrow feudal oppression, the Tammany Society's sympathy and moral support was prompt, enthusiastic and enduring. Sentiments and sympathies of political and other associations were usually expressed by toasts at a banquet specially held for that purpose.

Until about 1840 these "public dinners" were the chief means of announcing the policies, booms and sentiments of political and social bodies. On 12 May 1793 the Tammany Society, at its annual dinner, gave the toast, "Success to the Armies of France, and wisdom, concord, and firmness to the Convention." This was greeted with roars of applause for many minutes. The society suffered a flood of vituperation, abuse and threats of grave harm from the Tories and Federalists.

In 1800 the society bought real estate collectively to comply with the property qualifications imposed on the voter.

On 13 April 1808 the society marched in a body to Wallabout (“Wallabocht”) Bay, where the foundation stones were laid by them of the receiving vault, for the bones of 11,600 patriots, victims of England’s brutality. The society collected 11 hogsheads of bones along the beach of Wallabout Bay of those who died of hunger, disease and cold in the awful English prison ships. Tammany interred these bones in a tomb near the present navy yard with imposing military and civil ceremonials.

In 1812 the Tammany Society loudly called for war with England, pledging “this lives, fortunes and sacred honor” in support of the government for the waging of “that just and necessary war.” At every stage of the conflict the Society gave full and loyal support.

Tammany Hall in Nassau street, became the headquarters of the war party where they hoisted the flag to proclaim each victory, and celebrated the success of the American forces in loyal manner.

Tammany also gave a fighting force to the nation, which developed later three able generals and a colonel. In August 1814 about 1,200 members of Tammany Hall went in a body to Brooklyn and erected earthworks and other defenses.

On 29 June 1814 members of the Tammany Society mobbed a large Federalist meeting gathered to celebrate the return of the Bourbon dynasty to the throne of France.

In 1817 the Society with high patriotic speeches and ceremonial made imposing interment of General Montgomery in Saint Paul’s churchyard.

On 23 Feb. 1819 Tammany gave a banquet in honor of Gen. Andrew Jackson at which they launched a boom in his behalf for the Presidency.

Manhood Suffrage—From the moment of its foundation, the Tammany Society fought for manhood suffrage and against “imprisonment for debt.” On 1 Dec. 1820 a Tammany Hall mass meeting resolved: “That the distinction of the electoral rights; the mode of appointment to office and the union of the judiciary and legislative functions were objectionable and highly pernicious.” The meeting urged the legislature to pass the reform measures they advocated and when the legislature overwhelmingly advocated the extension of the suffrage, Tammany celebrated the victory for

reform June 14, 1821, at Tammany Hall with democratic jubilation. The sentiment dominant at this gathering is tersely expressed by one of the members: "We would rather be ruled by a man without an estate than by an estate without a man."

On 4 March 1822 a banquet was given at Tammany Hall for the purpose of expressing the utmost joy at "the extension of the right of suffrage and the abolition of those cumbersome relics of old centralizing methods, the Council of Appointment and the Council of Revision." The function of the former was expressed in its title; that of the latter was to give final approval or disapproval of all legislation.

The "Toasts" at this banquet appropriately express the Tammany sentiment of the participants. Here are two illustrations: "The right of suffrage—corruption in its exercise most to be apprehended from its limitation to a few." This was another: "The young and rising politician—may integrity and principle guide him—studying the public good, not popularity."

The extension of the suffrage greatly increased the voting power of Tammany and augmented its political prestige. In 1820 manhood suffrage in full became a fact; Tammany's political power having vastly increased, in this year Tammany succeeded in abolishing the last vestige of property qualification to the right of suffrage by an overwhelmingly large popular vote. In 1826-27 Tammany forced the fight for the five-year limitation for the acquisition of citizenship.

In 1827 a Tammany delegation visited General Jackson at New Orleans to present an anniversary address on the famous battle in which he humbled England, and to urge his candidacy for the Presidency in the coming year. Martin Van Buren (who was a member of the Tammany Society) visited New York later in the year and organized the sentiment of the Society for Jackson. To offset this sentiment and the then large vote of Tammany, the "Native American Party" was formed, whose battle cry was "Political privileges should belong exclusively to the natives of the country."

In 1828 Tammany gave General Jackson nearly 6,000 majority in a total vote of nearly 25,000. This was the first national election held wherein the State of New York chose Presidential electors by popular vote.



Ball of the St. Tammany Society, New York, January 10, 1853

From the foregoing quotation from a recognized standard publication there can be no doubt about the importance of the place in public service and in public affairs that is and should be given to Tammany and its guiding spirits.

TAMMANY WELCOMES THE PERSECUTED.

From the day of its organization to the present the Society of Tammany has been outstanding in its public, active, wholehearted espousal of the cause of the oppressed, the persecuted and the unfortunate. Through more than a century conspicuous service of this character has endeared the Society to the lovers of liberty in all lands. Less than ten years after the organizers of the Society banded themselves together in the interests of the so-called common people, the British government's ban on one of its most notable and learned professors, Dr. Joseph Priestley, discoverer of oxygen, created a stir in America as well as in Europe. When banished from his own country in 1794 the Tammany Society welcomed him to New York. This arresting display of tolerance was recalled recently in one of the leading social science reviews on the occasion of the coming of Prof. Albert Einstein to the United States under similar conditions. The comment of the contemporary writer was as follows:

"A great chemist shook the dust of England from his feet and came over as an immigrant to America. He was Dr. Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen. Priestley was born in March 1733, and died in February 1804, his discovery of oxygen being made in 1774. So this is the appropriate time to recall his memory.

"Why did Dr. Priestley leave his native country, England? Why did he migrate to the United States? What led to the casting of a medal upon which was inscribed, in Latin, a legend translated as follows:

Joseph Priestley: April 8, Leaving shores of Britannia, he went to Columbia (U.S.A.) June 4, 1794.

"Dr. Priestley had been mobbed, his house burnt down, in England. He was persecuted because he was a liberal, liberty loving scientist.

* * *

"Like Dr. Einstein, Dr. Priestley was an ardent democrat, lover of human liberty. He was a heretic in religion, although he had

AID TO THE DISTRESSED

Tammany Has Never Failed a Call of the Suffering and the Needy Whether at Home or Across the Seas.

From an early date it aided imprisoned debtors.

1801. Aided the sufferers during the yellow fever epidemic.

1835. Fed and clothed the victims of the great fire of 1835.

1837. Fed and clothed the needy in the panic of 1837.

1857. Aided the poor in the panic of 1857.

1861-1865. Aided families of soldiers in the Civil War.

1873. Aided the poor in the depression following the Civil War.

1888. Aided the sick and poor in the Blizzard of 1888.

1893. Aided the poor during the Winter of 1893.

1898. Aided poor during the Winter of 1898.

Contributed to:

Johnstown Flood sufferers.

San Francisco Earthquake sufferers.

Galveston Flood sufferers.

Messina Earthquake sufferers.

Japan's Earthquake sufferers.

Kisheneff Massacre victims.

Slocum disaster sufferers.

Cuban Freedom Fund.

Charles Stewart Parnell Homestead Fund.

The Roosevelt Memorial.

The Wilson Memorial.

Irish Republic Bond Issue.

New Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

Numerous other worthy charities and movements, among which are the Georgia Warm Springs Foundations, a movement for the alleviation of infantile paralysis; President Roosevelt's Birthday Ball movement for the same purpose and the American Red Cross Society's Flood Relief appeal.

been brought up as a minister. English Church and English Government hounded him out of the country. America, in those days the gateway to freedom, welcomed Dr. Priestley with open arms.

"Tammany in New York City, together with other prominent political and learned organizations, presented to him an address of welcome. Dr. Lyman C. Newell, of Boston University, wrote:

The Tammany Society presented Dr. Priestley with an address of welcome of a thousand words. In it the Society mentions Priestley's industrious pursuit of knowledge and his numerous discoveries in Nature, calls him a friend of mankind, asserter of the rights of conscience and the champion of civil and religious liberty; and expresses regret for the destruction of his scientific apparatus, library, and manuscripts by the (British) spoilers.

Dr. Priestley in his reply greeted Tammany thus:

I think myself greatly honored, flying as I do from ill-treatment in my native country (England), on account of my attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, to be received with the congratulations of a Society of Freemen associated to cultivate the love of liberty and the enjoyment of a happy republican government."

In the troublous days when liberal thinkers, and champions of the causes of justice and humanity were harassed, hunted, exiled and condemned in France, Poland, Ireland and other nations, the warm and substantial sympathy of the Tammany Society always was extended. Tammany representatives in the American Congress, in the State legislature and in city authority never failed to have the official records made that here, through the warm, sympathetic hearts of Tammany men, there was haven and sympathy for the victims of tyranny and oppression.

DISTINGUISHED SONS OF TAMMANY.

The Tammany movement from its inception attracted to its membership men of substance and influence. The roster of the early Tammany Societies is embellished with the names of eminent scholars, scientists, men of letters, publicists, members of the Professions, and Patriots of the Revolution. These men passed to the later day Tammany Societies a glorious heritage of patriotism, civic ideals, progressive thought and sound principles of conduct in the national life of our Country.

This heritage, in its fullest significance, was accepted by the

New York Tammany Society and made the foundation of its Articles of Faith; for one hundred and fifty years the impelling power and achievements of its membership has been a constructive force in the development of the Nation. From its ranks were drawn men of action and character to solve the political and economic problems of their time.

BRAVES FINED FOR NON-ATTENDANCE

Herewith is the text of a notice sent in the year 1819, more than a century ago, to Sachems and members, to attend a special meeting of the Society.

TAMMANY SOCIETY OR COLUMBIAN ORDER

Sachem:

An extra meeting of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order will be held at the Great Wigwam, No. 1, on Monday evening next, where your punctual attendance is requested, precisely half an hour after the setting of the Sun,

By order,

(Signed) JOHN WHITE,

Scribe of the Council.

Manhattan

Season of Blossoms

4th Moon

Year of Discovery 328

Fine for non-attendance, 50 cents.

15 Apl., 1819.

During this long span of time the membership of the Society which is drawn from the enterprising citizenry of the City, has made momentous contributions to the development and up-building of our City, our State, and our Nation; to industry and commerce; to charitable and social work; to religious and personal liberty; to civic ideals and good citizenship; to Statecraft and International comity; to literature; to arts and to the sciences. Their great public service in crystalizing the sentiments and traditions of American patriotism and in the championship of the principles of

true democracy have aided in no small measure our National growth.

To the Constitution of the New York Tammany Society is affixed the signatures of members of the "Sons of Liberty"; of the Revolutionary Committees on Correspondence, Resistance and Safety; of the Boston Tea Party; of the Provincial and Continental Congress, and of officers and soldiers of the American army of the Revolution.

TAMMANY AND COLUMBUS.

The Tammany Society, as reorganized in 1789, had two patrons—Saint Tammany and Columbus. Its original constitution provided that on the first Monday of October in each year a brother should deliver before the Society a "Long Talk" in honor of Columbus; and as early as April 6, 1791, Pintard announced the intention of appropriately celebrating the tercentenary of the discovery of America on October 12, 1792.

At Tammany's reception to the Creek Indians in New York on August 2, 1790, Dr. William P. Smith, Grand Sachem of the Society, explained the dual system of patrons as follows:

Although the hand of death is cold upon their bodies, yet the spirits of two great Chiefs are supposed to walk backwards and forwards in this great Wigwam, and to direct us in all our proceedings—Tammany and Columbus. Tradition has brought to us the memory of the first. He was a great and good Indian Chief, a strong warrior, a swift hunter, but what is greater than all, he loved his country. We call ourselves his sons.

In all pageantry and ceremonial of the Society the two were linked in equal importance, and, as late as 1812, no Tammany procession was complete without a float as its central feature, presenting in allegorical significance the two great patrons of the Society—Columbus bearing the emblem of civilization; Tammany bearing the constellation of the thirteen American stars. The two alternately smoked the Calumet of peace. The figures were shown seated on an elevated car, over which presided the Genius of America bearing the great standard of the United States. At the conclusion of the procession the car of Tammany and Columbus moved up to the head of the line and the two patrons were presented to the Genius of America, who descended from the pedestal to receive them.

CHARTER AND ROUTINE OF THE SOCIETY

The Tammany Society had been functioning for several years before application was made to the State legislature for a charter. Its activities became so widespread after 1800 that, after years of debate and deliberation, a State Charter was granted. The original charter was as follows:

“An act to incorporate the SOCIETY OF TAMMANY, or COLUMBIAN ORDER, in the city of New York. Passed April 9, 1805.

“Whereas, William Mooney and others, inhabitants of the City of New York, have presented a petition to the Legislature setting forth that they, since the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, have associated themselves under the name and description of ‘THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY, or COLUMBIAN ORDER,’ for the purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed members of the said association, their widows and orphans and others, who may be found proper objects of their charity; they therefore solicit that the Legislature will be pleased by law to incorporate the said Society, for purposes aforesaid, under such limitations and restrictions as to the Legislature shall seem fit;

“*Be it enacted* by the people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, That such persons as now are, or shall from time to time become, members of the said Society, shall be, and hereby are ordained, constituted and declared, to be a body corporate, and politic in deed, fact and name, by the name of ‘THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY, or COLUMBIAN ORDER in the City of New York’ and by that name they, and their successor, shall have succession, and shall be persons capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered unto, defending and being defended, in all Courts and places whatsoever, in all manner of actions, suits, complaints, matters and causes whatsoever; and that they, and their successors, may have a common seal, and change and alter the same at their pleasure; and that they and their successors, by the same name, shall be persons capable in law to purchase, take, receive, hold, and enjoy to them and their successors, any real estate in fee simple, or for term of life or lives, or otherwise and any goods, chattels, or personal estate, for the purpose of enabling them the better to carry into effect the benevolent purpose of



Amemya

VIEW OF LOUNGE, TAMMANY HALL—UNION SQUARE

affording relief to the indigent and distressed, provided the clear yearly value of such real and personal estates shall not exceed the sum of five thousand dollars; and that they and their successors shall have full power and authority to give, grant, sell, lease, demise, and dispose of the said real and personal estates, or any part thereof at their will and pleasure; and that they, and their successors, shall have power from time to time to make, constitute, ordain and establish, By-Laws, Constitutions, Ordinances, and Regulations, as they shall judge proper for the election of their officers, for the election and admission of new members of the said incorporation, and the terms and manner of admission, for the better government and regulation of their officers and members, for fixing the times and places of meeting of said corporation, and for regulating all the affairs and business of the said corporation; *Provided*, that such by-laws, and regulations shall not be repugnant to the Constitution or Laws of the United States, or of this State; and for the better carrying on the business and affairs of the said Corporation, there shall be such number of Officers of the said Corporation, and of such denomination or denominations, to be chosen in such manner, and at such time and places, as are now, or shall from time to time be directed by the Constitution and By-Laws of the said Corporation, made or to be made, for that purpose; and that such number, and description of members, shall be sufficient to constitute a legal meeting of the said Corporation, as are now, or may hereafter be directed by the said Constitution and By-Laws of the said Corporation.

“And be it further enacted, That this Act be, and hereby is declared to be, a public act, and that the same be construed in all Courts and places, benignly, and favorably, for every beneficial purpose therein intended.”

Immediately after the grant of the charter the Society created standing committees for the purpose of devising by-laws, caring for the needs of indigent members, providing for a fixed meeting place, for public welfare and civic improvement, promoting patriotic gatherings and other similar purposes. At the time the charter was granted the Tammany Society was a flourishing, active and well established organization in the life of the city. Minor changes have been made in it from time to time but the patriotic objective and purposes of the Society have always been maintained.

Brief by-laws, setting forth rules of precedence, were promulgated immediately after the charter grant and have continued as the guide lines of the organization ever since. The first by-laws provided that the officers of the Society "shall consist of as many Sachems as there were States in the American Union at the time of the adoption of the national constitution, which Sachems shall compose a council with power to elect a Father of the Council, a Scribe to record their proceedings, a Grand Sachem, a Treasurer, a Secretary, a Sagamore, and a Wiskinkie."

The Grand Sachem, whose duty it is to preside at all closed meetings of the Society, is also charged with setting forth and administering to the officers of the Society official "obligations." These "obligations" must be repeated aloud by the officers as they are installed.

Every candidate for membership in the Society must be vouched for by at least two members and before acceptance must assert that he does and has a sincere intention to support the Constitution of the United States and the purpose and intention of the Society of Tammany.

Officers of the Society are elected annually or until their successors are chosen. The Grand Sachem is not eligible for re-election. He is chosen by the Council of Sachems and for more than a hundred years it has been the custom to retain the Grand Sachem for long periods. This is accomplished by failure to re-elect his successor.

INITIATION ODE.

One of the provisions of the by-laws of the Society is that it have an "Ode" and the by-laws also set forth that the ode should be chanted or sung at each initiation ceremony at the Society meetings. This obligation is scrupulously lived up to, the Sagamore leading. The ode follows:

I.

Sacred's the ground where freedom's found
And virtue stamps her name;
Our hearts entwine at friendship's shrine,
And Union fans the flame.

Our hearts sincere,
Shall greet you here;
With joyful voice
Confirm your choice,

Et-hoh! Et-hoh! Et-hoh!

II.

Hail from on high, fair liberty,
Descend with radiant mien;
Accept thy son who's hither come
To seek thy gentle reign.
With hearts sincere,
We greet you here;
Our joyful voice
Confirms your choice.
Et-hoh! Et-hoh! Et-hoh!

III.

Thus shall the Patriot's fond desire
Succeeding ages see,
This Fabric keeps the heaven-born flame
That made Columbia free.
'Tis Freedom's voice
Bids us rejoice!
Our hearts sincere,
Welcome you here.
Et-hoh! Et-hoh! Et-hoh!

The Delaware Indian word "Et-hoh" means "yes" and is frequently used in Society meetings in giving approval to official actions taken. The ode was publicly printed and frequently recited during the last century.

THE TAMMANY WIGWAMS

The Wigwam or meeting hall of the Society at the time of its early activities was variously located. In 1787 the House of Talmadge Hall, No. 49 Cortlandt Street was called the Wigwam in the public notices. In 1789 and early in 1790 the Wigwam was located at Barden's Tavern in Broadway. In July, 1790, the Wigwam was at the City Tavern in Broad Street, but this like its predecessors was merely a temporary abiding place of the Society which now began to feel the need of a permanent home.

On September 10, 1790, the Common Council of the City assigned to the Society a room in the Exchange. Thus the Exchange became the Great Wigwam or Tammanial Hall, and continued to be the home of the Society until 1798 when the scene of its activities shifted to "Martling's" at the corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets; the "Long Room" at the Martling's became the assembly hall of the Society.



LAYING CORNER-STONE, TAMMANY WIGWAM, UNION SQUARE—JANUARY 8, 1929

This photograph was taken on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the new building of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order, at 17th Street and Union Square East, on Tuesday afternoon, January 8, 1929. In the front row, extending from right to left, are Hon. Alfred E. Smith, a Sachem of the Society, for four terms elected Governor of the State of New York, and the candidate of the Democratic Party, in 1928, for the Presidency of the United States; Hon. John R. Voorhis, in his hundredth year, then Grand Sachem of the Society; Hon. James J. Walker, a member of the Society and then Mayor of the City of New York, and Hon. Willis Holly, then Secretary of the Society. In the second row, right to left, are Hon. Francis D. Gallatin, then a Sachem of the Society; Hon. George W. Olvany, a Sachem of the Society, and Hon. James A. Foley, Sachem and Surrogate of New York County. In the rear are shown other members of the Society.

In order that the Society might have a home of its own the New York Tammanial Tontine Association was organized in 1792. The Tontine was a common device of the day for raising funds for popular enterprises and in a measure performed the functions of the modern building loan association. The purpose of this association was to erect "a great wigwam or Tammany Hall for the convenience of the meetings," but it was not until May 13, 1811, that the corner-stone of the first Tammany Hall was laid. The building was located at the corner of Nassau and Frankfort Streets and was erected for the purpose of "preserving and strengthening that patriotic chain which unites its members and for accommodating their Republican Brothers."

Funds for the enterprise were raised by issuing stock upon which dividends were to be paid from the income of the building. A large room was reserved for the use of the society on certain evenings and the remaining space was rented as a hotel. The Society reserved in the lease the use of the large room for every Monday evening and also for May 12th, July 4th, November 25th, and the days on which the General Committee and nominating conventions should meet. The Society further stipulated that the tenant must "be attached to our republican principles." Soon after its occupancy of the new building the Society encouraged the use of the Hall for public entertainments, receptions and amusements, and in January of each year the Society itself conducted an annual ball.

On July 4, 1867, the Society laid the corner-stone of a new Tammany Hall in East Fourteenth Street, near Third Avenue, with elaborate public ceremonies.

The Hall was publicly dedicated on July 4, 1868, by the opening of the National Democratic Convention within its walls. The Convention selected Horatio Seymour, twice Governor of New York, as Presidential Nominee.

A TWENTIETH CENTURY WIGWAM.

For sixty years the Wigwam in Fourteenth Street was the home of the Tammany Society and the headquarters of the Democratic organization of New York County. It has been the nerve-center of Democratic activity in the metropolitan district. Many notable political conflicts occurred within its walls. New party history was made there. The organization was rejuvenated. The advent of the twentieth century brought new life, new blood and new view-

points. For more than two decades the hand of Charles F. Murphy was at the helm. He discarded many of the old methods and policies and under his leadership the organization won more popular favor than it had ever previously enjoyed. His sudden death in April, 1924, brought the Democracy of the state and nation to a realization of the marvelous work he had accomplished for the betterment of the party in New York.

For a brief period following Mr. Murphy's death the organization was directed by a provisional committee. This committee was succeeded in leadership by George W. Olvany, then Judge of the Court of General Sessions, who had previously been an assembly district leader and chairman of the Tammany Law Committee.

With the close of the Independence Day celebration, July 4, 1928, the Fourteenth Street Wigwam was closed, and the Society of Tammany began the erection of a larger Wigwam at Union Square and 17th Street.

In the interim between 1920 and 1927 there was constant agitation on the part of members of the Society for the erection of a more modern wigwam than the one erected in East 14th Street in 1867. This agitation resulted in the purchase of a site at Union Square, late in 1927, and the building of the splendid edifice at the northeasterly corner of the Square in 1928.

The new building has a frontage on Union Square of 79 feet and on Seventeenth Street of 150 feet. The main lobby, approached from the entrance on Seventeenth Street, gives access to the upper floors by means of a stairway and elevator. Recessed in the west wall of the lobby is the "Flag Case" with its display of early American flags, and on the opposite wall a doorway 15 feet wide opens into the Auditorium foyer.

The Auditorium, reached from this foyer and also by means of separate entrances on Seventeenth Street, occupies the entire easterly half of the building and extends through three stories, providing seats for more than 1000 persons.

In the space below the Auditorium is a waiting room for speakers, easily accessible to the Auditorium platform, and reached by means of a passage from the elevator lobby.

On the second floor are the offices of the Democratic County Committee; the main office and private offices fronting on Union Square; and the Conference or Delegation Room fronting on Seventeenth Street. The remainder of this floor is occupied by the

ERECTED BY
THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY
OR
COLUMBIAN ORDER
COMPLETED FEBRUARY 1ST, 1929

FOUNDED



1786

SACHEMS

JOHN R. VOORHIS, GRAND SACHEM

THOMAS C. T. CRAIN

ROBERT L. LUCE

JOHN F. CURRY

THOMAS F. McAVOY

DANIEL E. FINN

GEORGE W. OLVANY

JAMES A. FOLEY

DANIEL L. RYAN

FRANCIS D. GALLATIN

ALFRED E. SMITH

LOUIS F. HATTEN

HENRY W. UNGER

THOMAS DARRINGTON, FATHER OF THE COUNCIL

SECRETARY

TREASURER

WILLIS HOLLY

WILLIAM SOHMER

SAGAMORE

WISKINKIE

GEORGE F. KREYKENBOHM

WILLIAM J. DUFFY

SCRIBE

SAMUEL H. WANDELL

BUILDING COMMITTEE

DANIEL L. RYAN, CHAIRMAN

GEORGE W. OLVANY

JAMES A. FOLEY

ANDREW SHERIDAN

JAMES R. EGAN

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JOHN R. GALVIN

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ARCHITECTS

THOMPSON, HOLMES & CONVERST

CHARLES B. MEYERS

BUILDERS

JOHN T. BRADY & CO.

Tablet in Tammany Wigwam Main Hallway

balcony of the Auditorium, approached by means of separate stairways from the Auditorium foyer, but also accessible through doorways from the main hall of the second floor.

The third floor is devoted to the use of the Tammany Society. A large central lounge, fronting on Union Square and furnished as a club room is the central feature. Opening from this lounge are the Grand Sachem's room, the Secretary's room, candidates' waiting room and the room of the Committee of Sachems.

The meeting room of the Tammany Society is lighted by clere-story windows above the roof of the adjoining lounge. In a seating arrangement similar to that in the old meeting room of the 14th Street Building, it provides seats for a large number of persons. The entire building is used by the organization with the exception only of the Union Square frontage on the first floor.

The architectural style in which the architects, Thompson, Holmes & Converse, and Charles B. Meyers, associated, have designed the building is Georgian, the style of the American Colonial and Federal buildings of the early days of the Society. Above a first story of limestone, the walls are faced with an oversized red brick exactly reproducing in color and texture the brick used in the construction of Thomas Jefferson's home at Monticello. The seal of the Society, flanked by medallion heads of Columbus and Chief Tammany, adorn the central architectural feature of the Seventeenth Street front.

The architectural motive of the Union Square facade is strongly reminiscent of the old Federal Hall, formerly on Wall Street near Broad. In the pediment crowning this motive is a medallion in polychrome terra cotta of the Liberty Cap, the device of the Tammany Society. Record time in constructing the building was made by John T. Brady & Company, the general contractors.

The corner-stone of the newest Wigwam was not set in place until January 8, 1929, although the building was occupied some time prior to that date. Portions of the corner-stones of the Wigwam at Nassau and Frankfort Streets and of that in East 14th Street were cemented into the new corner-stone.

Great Grand Sachem John R. Voorhis, then one hundred years of age and the first to bear that title in more than one hundred years, presided at the exercises. Sachem Voorhis died two years later shortly after attaining the age of one hundred and two years.

TAMMANY IN LEGEND AND HISTORY

The American Indian has contributed to history and literature two heroic characters, Hiawatha, a chief of the Onondagas, and Tammany, a sachem of the Delawares. Hiawatha conceived and founded the great Iroquois Confederacy, America's first Republic, a potent influence for the promotion of peace and amity among the Indian nations; history and literature have accorded undying fame to this great lawgiver and reformer of an aboriginal race.

The name of Tammany is preserved in history by a series of unusual events, while in literature, as the patron saint of our country his fame is perpetuated by legends, odes and poems. He is also honored as the patron and guiding spirit of a patriotic and fraternal movement that gave rise to a society which has developed into a powerful patriotic and political organization.

Tammany, tutelary saint of America, as a character stands unique. Much has been written concerning his virtue, prowess and achievements; and about his memory a kind and bounteous tradition has woven numberless romances which rival the tales of Heracles and Theseus, and give him a place in the Indian lore of America analogous to that held by those demi-gods in ancient Greek mythology. This Nestor of the American Indians, whom tradition pleasingly describes as the embodiment of wisdom and honor, and whose ability, benevolence, nobility and diplomatic savoir faire brought to him immortal renown, was a sachem of the Lenni-Lenâpé or Delaware Indians. His achievements and his death are shrouded in mystery, while only a short period of his life is actually open to the scrutiny of research.

He is known to have been in contact for years with the whites but during that period the early settlers left no written record. His accomplishments and importance have passed on to posterity by reason of the profound impression his force of genius and charm of personality made upon his contemporaries.

The authentic history of Tammany is short and simple, and the events recorded relate solely to land transactions with the white settlers. His name is first presented in writing, to the civilized world, on June 23, 1683, when he fixed his mark to a deed of that date, granting to William Penn, Proprietor,

all my Lands Lying betwix Pemmapecka and Nessaminehs Creeks, and all along Nesheminehs Creeks * * * for ye Consideration of so much Wampum, so many Guns, Shoes,

Stockings, Looking-glasses, Blankets and other goods as he, ye sd William Penn shall please to give unto me.

On that same day, Tammany and Metamequan, another Sachem, executed a joint deed and affixed their respective marks thereto, granting to William Penn the identical lands that Tammany had conveyed in the previous deed; and at the same time executed a receipt for the consideration received, with which "We doe hereby hold ourselves fully contented and satisfied."

On June 25, 1683, the name of Tammany appears with four other Indian names in witness to a deed given by Wingbone to William Penn for

Lands Lying on ye West side of ye Skolkill River beginning from ye first Falls of ye same all along upon ye sd River and Backward of ye same, so farr as my right goeth.

His name is again presented for our consideration in a letter written by William Penn to the Society of Traders on August 16, 1683. In speaking of the Lenâpé or Delaware Indians, Penn says:

Their language is lofty yet narrow: * * * I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness, in accent or emphasis, than theirs; for instance, TAMENE, Secane, Menase, Secaterius, are the names of persons.

On June 15, 1692, the name, with those of three other Indians, appears on a quit-claim deed. By this instrument they acknowledged

full Satisfaction for all that Tract of Land formerly belonging to TAMINENT and others which wee parted with unto William Penn, Proprietor. * * * Therefore wee Doo hereby acquitt, release & discharg the said proprietor his Heirs & Successrs from any further claims, dues & demands whatsoever, Concerning the said Lands or any other Tract of Land claimed by us from the beginning of the World to the date of the date hereof.

This sweeping conveyance in legal effect wiped out all of Tammany's land claims in Pennsylvania. In this business transaction his native shrewdness, as might be expected, was apparently over-matched, for the white representatives of the Proprietor out-traded him and drove a good bargain.

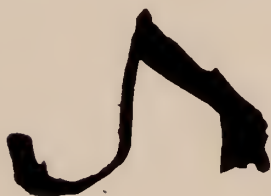
The name of Tammany next appears in the minutes of a meeting of the Pennsylvania Provincial Council, held in Philadelphia

A large, bold, and somewhat circular signature in black ink. It features a thick, irregular outer loop and a smaller, more defined inner loop that crosses itself.

Tamanen.
June 23, 1683.

A signature in black ink, consisting of a large, sweeping loop on the left side and a smaller, more compact loop on the right side, connected by a thin horizontal stroke.

Tamanen.
June 23, 1683.

A signature in black ink, featuring a large, sweeping loop on the left side and a smaller, more compact loop on the right side, connected by a thin horizontal stroke.

Tamanen (Receipt for Money).
June 23, 1683.

A signature in black ink, consisting of a large, sweeping loop on the left side and a smaller, more compact loop on the right side, connected by a thin horizontal stroke.

King Tamenent.
June 15, 1692.

Signatures of Tamenend (Saint Tammany) the Chief of the Delaware Indians to land grants to William Penn, Provincial Governor of Pennsylvania.

on July 6, 1694. The particular business of the Council was to confer with the Delaware Indians concerning a proposition made by the Seneca Nation, to have the Delawares join the Senecas in a war against the French. The minutes of this meeting contain the only record of a speech made by Tammany that may be considered authentic. During the conference, according to the Council record, Tammany spoke of the whites as follows:

We and the Christians of this River have allwayes had a free rode way to one another, & tho' sometimes a tree has fallen across the rode yet wee have still removed it again & kept the path clean, and wee design to Continou the old friendshipp that has been between us and you.

The Council assured the Indians that the English were their friends and would protect them from both the French and the Senecas. "So they all departed verie well satisfied with the Lt. Governor's answer."

Again, the names of Tammany and four members of his household—his two sons, his brother and the heir-apparent to the chieftancy of the Delaware Nation—appear in a deed dated July 6, 1697, of which the following excerpt is pertinent:

We, TAMINY Sachimach and Weheeland, my Brother and Wehequeckhon, alias Andrew, who is to be King after my death, Yaqueekhon alias Nicholas, and Quenemeckquid, Alias Charles, my sons, for the Consideration of Twenty Match-coats, Twelve White Blankets, Ten Kettles, Twelve Guns, Thirty Yards of Shirting Cloth, one Runlett of Powder, Ten Barrs of Lead, fforty yards of Stroud Waters, Twenty Parrs of Stockins, one Horse, ffifty pounds of Tobacco, Six Dozens of Pipes and Thirty Shillings in Cash * * * Do give, grant, alien, sell, enfeoff and confirm unto the said William Penn, his Heirs and Assigns, All the Lands, Woods, Meadows, Rivers, Rivulets, Mines, Minerals, and Royalties Whatsoever, situated lyeing and being Between the Creek called Pemopeck and the creek called Neshaminy, in the said Province *Extending in Length from the River Delazware, so farr as a horse can Travel in Two Summer dayes, and to carry its breadth accordingly* as the several Courses of the said two Creeks will Admit, And when the said Creek do so branch that the main Branches or bodies thereof cannot be discovered, Then the Tract of Land hereby granted, shall stretch forth upon a direct course on each side and so carry on the fful Breath to the extent of the Length thereof.

We again find the name of Tammany in print in 1698 in an article by Gabriel Thomas, who arrived in America shortly after

the landing of William Penn and spent some fifteen years among the early settlers. On his return to London he published an interesting account of his experiences in America, in which he alludes to Tammany.

This brief record of Tammany's dealings with the English settlers completes his authentic biography. It discloses merely a series of business relations in each of which the Chief appears to have been outbargained by the business tact and shrewdness of his white neighbors. With the mere reference to his name by Thomas in 1698, Tammany or Tamenend passes from history.

In the year 1771 Tammany is introduced to the American colonists in the guise of a Saint, with the First day of May set aside as sacred to his name. How this remarkable transformation took place, and why Tammany, the chief of an Indian Tribe, was selected for colonial canonization, are debatable questions.

In the reports of festal gatherings held in Philadelphia it is related in the Freeman's Journal of that city that on May 1, 1783, "the portraiture of our true old Saint with his well known motto 'Kawanio Chee Keteru' " was displayed at the head of the banquet table and that at the celebration of May 1, 1785, "the flag of the United States ornamented with a fine figure of St. Taminy was displayed in the centre"; and on May 1, 1786, "The standard of St. Tammany was displayed, supported on the right by the flag of France, and on the left by that of the United States of Holland." Local tradition is that during the revolution Pennsylvania Troops carried a bag that bore the portrait of St. Tammany.

William Penn, thus depicted the Chief :

We found him an old man, but yet vigorous in mind and body, with high notions of liberty, easily won by the suavity and peaceful address of the Governor.

James Fenimore Cooper, gave what purports to be a full description of Tammany and reveals him presiding over a Council of the Delawares in the neighborhood of Lake George, New York, in the year 1757.

"I am Tamanend of many days" the Chief is credited with stating in the story to emphasize Cooper's idea of the great age of Tammany. The description, however, is based on legends and traditions current when Cooper wrote in 1825.

Tradition has it that Tammany was the first Delaware Chief to welcome Penn on his arrival in America, on October 27, 1682,

and that he was present, in June, 1683, at the Great Treaty under the Elm at Schakamaxon. History, however, has left no record of the persons who were present on these two occasions. Indians in attendance at the Treaty were the entire tribe of the Susquehannocks and the Unami and Unalachtigo clans of the Delawares. The object of the meeting was to confirm the land grants previously made to William Penn, and to negotiate a treaty of friendship, "to last as long the sun should shine and the waters run into the rivers."

The abiding place of Tammany has been assigned by history to Wilmington, Delaware; Princeton, New Jersey; Easton, Scranton and Delaware Water Gap, Pennsylvania; the upper Ohio Valley; Northern New York; and Tammany Flats, Damascas Township, Wayne County, Pennsylvania. It is known that at one period his abode was on the lower Delaware River and along the fertile banks of the Neshaminy creek in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on the land which, between 1683 and 1697, he conveyed to William Penn.

Three places, widely separated, claim the grave of Tammany. The view that he was buried on the spot where now stands Nassau Hall at Princeton, New Jersey, has no reliable data to support it. For the story that he was buried at Muskingum, Ohio, and a huge mound erected over his grave, no confirmation whatever can be found.

An elaborate set of circumstances is advanced as evidence of his burial beside a spring near the bank of the Neshaminy creek in New Britain township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

MANY LEGENDS ABOUT TAMMANY.

Tradition of that vicinity relates that about 1740 or 1750 an aged chief with his followers was proceeding to attend a conference with the Pennsylvania Proprietaries at Philadelphia. The chief, too infirm to walk, was carried by younger members of the party. They halted near a spring, where a hut was built for the old man. When night came on they decamped, leaving the old man under the care of an Indian girl. On awakening the following morning, he became so distressed and enraged at finding himself deserted that he sought death by stabbing himself; but his weakness frustrated this attempt. Persevering in his endeavor to take his own life, he set fire to his bed of leaves and threw himself upon it.

The other Indians, who, in the absence of their chief, were denied an audience by the Proprietaries, returned to the hut and found the old man dead. The white settlers had the body buried near the hut, in the presence of the other Indians. This legend of Tammany's death, which found favor in the popular imagination, supplied the theme for odes and poems, and its action was reproduced in pantomime as a part of the ceremonial of the early Tammany societies' celebrations.

It is evident that the chief buried was not Tammany, for if Tammany had been alive as late as 1749 he would scarcely have escaped the attention of the Moravian Missionaries who began their work among the Delaware Indians as early as 1742. There is no direct evidence of the date of Tammany's death, but from collateral facts it would seem that he was called to his fathers about 1698, for in that year Ow hala (or Ochale, Owechela), who has been identified as Tammany's brother, is mentioned in the Maryland Council Records as King of the Delawares.

However, this tradition is still cherished in that locality, and the Bucks County Historical Society has recently purchased the ground where the supposed Tammany was buried and has selected a monument to be erected over the grave, bearing this inscription:

To the Memory of
The Celebrated Lenâpé Chieftain
TAMENEND.

Once owner of this and all land Between
Neshaminy and Pennypack creeks. These
stones are placed at this spot near which
an aged Indian called Tammany by the
pioneers of Bucks County was buried by
white men about the year 1750.

It is said that Tammany adopted the motto "Kwanio Che Keeteru," which has been translated as "I am master wherever I am." The phrase is ancient, for in 1747 the Schuylkill Fishing Company, a social club, presented to the Association Battery, a local Company of Militia, a "new thirty-two pounder" cannon on which was stamped the words said to have been the motto of the venerable Chief Tammany. This cannon was used during the Revolutionary War, and on April 23, 1783, was restored to the Fishing Company. The phrase was later according to the Philadelphia Independent, adopted as the motto of the Society of the Sons of St. Tammany in Philadelphia.

An interesting phase of the research concerning Tammany is presented by the Walam Olum, a record purporting to preserve the primitive legends and traditions of the Lenni-Lenâpé Indians. The legends were recorded in pictographs or hieroglyphics to perpetuate the chants by which the tribal legendary had been kept alive. As a whole it represents the traditions of the Delawares with reference to the Creation, and the tribal migration from the north or west to the Atlantic Coast line. From the beginning of this migration to the advent of the white men, the nation was ruled by ninety-four chiefs, two of whom, the thirty-first and seventy-sixth, respectively, were named Tamanend. The reference in the Olum to Tamanend, the seventy-fifth chief, follows:

“Again an Affable was Chief, and made peace with all,
All were friends, all were united under this great Chief.”

Careful research reveals that the canonization of Tammany may be traced to the Schuylkill Fishing Company, a society or club established in 1732 by Quakers of Philadelphia. According to the records of this club, certain Indian chiefs, including Tammany, granted to its members and their successors the right to fish and hunt within defined limits in the waters of the Schuylkill and the adjacent woods. Each year the sporting season opened on May first, which became a day of festivity to members of the club. The society adopted Tammany as its Patron and Saint, and May first was assigned as his day. On May 11, 1782, when victory for the American colonists seemed assured, the Club, which had become known as the “Colony in Schuylkill,” changed its name to the “State of Schuylkill” and adopted new by-laws, among which we note the following:

10th. There shall be the following meetings of the Governor and Council annually, * * * *One on the first of May, to commemorate the day of our illustrious Saint and Patron, St. Tammany.*”

This custom of adopting patrons is of remote origin, practiced among the guilds and trades of ancient Greece and Rome, and, in the Middle Ages, adopted by governments, which denominated Saints of the Church as their patrons. Later societies also selected saints, from whom their ideals were derived, and to whom their activities were dedicated. The Schuylkill Fishing Company, in conformity with this custom, most naturally selected as its patron

saint the Indian chief, who had inhabited that region, and who sold to William Penn the very ground on which stood the "State House" of the Society. It also adopted as its motto the words said to have been the favorite maxim of the Chief.

Following the success of this society, two other fishing clubs were organized on the banks of the Schuylkill prior to the Revolution, and on every first of May the fishing season was opened with much ceremony. As the clubs grew in importance and prestige their celebration gained in social splendor and spread through Philadelphia and its vicinity the fame of the original club's saint and patron.

From the meager data at hand, it would seem that the appellation "Saint" was not generally accepted at Philadelphia until 1773, for in May, 1772, the name first appeared in print in Philadelphia as "King Tammany" when the "Sons of King Tammany" held their first meeting. However, on June 14, 1772, the name appears in the public press as "King (or Saint) Tammany," and by 1773 his claim to canonization was well established.

On April 28, 1773, the following notice of a meeting of the Sons of Saint Tammany made its appearance:

"As all nations have for seven centuries past, adopted some great personage, remarkable for his virtues and love for Civil and Religious liberty, as their Tutelar Saint and annually assembled on a fixed day to commemorate him, the Natives of this flourishing Province, determined to follow so laudable an example, and for some years past have adopted a Great Warrior Sachem and Chief, named, St. Tammany, a fast friend to our forefathers, to be the tutelar Saint of this Province, and have hitherto, on the First of May, done the accustomed honors to the memory of so great and celebrated a Personage."

The invitation of April 28, 1773, indicates clearly that Tammany had been known as "Saint" for some years, despite the apparent lack of recognition in the public press and that he had been unofficially adopted as the titular Saint of the Province of Pennsylvania.

In pre-revolutionary days Philadelphia was the center of heated discussions of England's tyranny, and when the revolution broke out the Pennsylvania troops quite naturally adopted their Provincial Saint as Patron and Guide. This example was followed by the Continental Army, and during the revolutionary war the

natal day of Saint Tammany was celebrated both at home and on the field. This observance was continued by the army long after the conclusion of war, until discontinued by order of General Dearborn, and then only as a part of the policy of retrenchment instituted by President Jefferson.

Many of the legends of Tammany and his remarkable performances obtained currency through an oration delivered by Samuel L. Mitchell, an eminent scholar, before the Tammany Society or Columbian Order in the City of New York on May 12, 1795, and by the reports of missionaries among the Delaware Indians, as exemplified by John G. B. Heckewelder, a Moravian.

Dr. Heckewelder, who was long a missionary among the Delawares, has recorded many of their traditions. His work on the Delaware Indians contains the following lofty estimate of Tammany:

The name of Tamanend is held in the highest veneration among the Indians. Of all the Chiefs and great men which the Lenâpé Nation ever had, he stands foremost on the list. But although many fabulous stories are circulated about him among the whites, but little of his history is known. * * *

All we know, therefore, of Tamanend, is that he was an ancient Delaware Chief, who never had his equal. He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, in short, with every good and noble qualification that a human being may possess. He was supposed to have had an intercourse with the Great and Good Spirit; for he was a stranger to everything that is bad.

This appraisal by a noted missionary will serve as an explanation of why the white settlers and their successors so revered and honored Tammany.

ORIGIN OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETIES.

The celebration of May 1 as "St. Tammany's Day" led to the establishment of Tammany Societies in the American Colonies. The Schuylkill Fishing Company, a social club, organized in Philadelphia in 1732, inaugurated the outdoor season on the first day of May of each year with festive social functions. These celebrations attracted public notice and inspired emulation. Two other societies were formed shortly afterward. Their members disported along the banks of the river, closely following the forms and ceremonies of the original club.

This May day celebration, heralding the coming of Spring, in what was then the American metropolis, became a holiday recognized and observed throughout southeastern Pennsylvania and the colonies on the south.

The first permanent Tammany society was established in Philadelphia on May 1, 1772, and was called "The Sons of King Tammany." Its purpose was the promotion of charity and patriotism. The *Pennsylvania Chronicle* described the meeting and outlined its purposes in the following words:

On Friday, the first instant, a number of Americans, Sons of King Tammany, met at the house of Mr. James Byrn, to celebrate the memory of that truly noble Chieftain whose friendship was most affectionately manifested to the worthy founder and first settlement of this Province. After dinner the circulating glass was crowned with wishes, loyal and patriotic, and the day was concluded with much cheerfulness and harmony. It is hoped from this small beginning, a society may be formed of great utility to the distressed; as this meeting was more for the purpose of promoting Charity and Benevolence, than Mirth and Festivity.

In 1773 the Society in Philadelphia changed its name to "Sons of Saint Tammany," and was thus referred to in the public prints in the notice for the annual meeting of that year. Invitations to attend this gathering were extended to one hundred and twenty-one of the most influential men in the colony, including the Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, scholars, members of bench and bar, and men of letters.

That Society perfected a permanent organization, electing annually thirteen Sachems as a Board of Directors, a Chief or President and a Secretary. It also adopted gorgets and other insignia of office and revived old customs of the earlier celebrations of May First and smoked the calumet or pipe of peace at each meeting. During the war for Independence the Society waned but after the Treaty of Peace was signed it took on new life and continued its celebrations with renewed glory. At the conclusion of the fête on May 1st, 1784, the Society marched in a body to serenade General Washington, who, at that time, was visiting Philadelphia. After the brilliant celebration of May 1st, 1786, factions divided the Society on questions of internal policies of the National Government, and it slowly became disintegrated and its activities ceased. This ended the most important organization in the early history of the movement.

SPREAD OF THE TAMMANY IDEA.

The Philadelphia Society was the parent stem of the Tammany Societies in the United States. From Philadelphia the movement spread into New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. The Society's celebration in the City of Richmond in 1785 was made notable by the presence of General Washington, who recorded the occasion in his diary.

In 1779, we find the first notice of a Tammany celebration in New Jersey. Because of the strength of a Tory sentiment there, however, even the press was loth to give publicity to the affairs of the Society. It is recorded, however, that William DeHart, an officer in the American Army and later a prominent attorney of Morristown, New Jersey, was elected President, and Ebenezer Elmer, an army surgeon, was chosen secretary; an elaborate certificate of membership was adopted with a seal containing the famous quotation from Horace: "I have built a monument more lasting than bronze," showing that the scholarly gentlemen that organized the Society believed that the institution which they founded would prove a monument of lasting fame. On May 1st, 1782, a Constitution was adopted defining the social and charitable purposes of the Society. This Constitution is the oldest written Constitution of a Tammany Society in existence and bears the signature of John Pintard, who later played so prominent a part in the organization and early development of the New York Tammany Society.

When opposition to British oppression began to manifest itself—upon the passage of the Stamp Act, in 1765, and between that date and the convening of the first Continental Congress, in 1774—the Tammany Societies in the middle Atlantic colonies became leaders of revolutionary sentiment. They thus gradually changed from purely social to fraternal and patriotic bodies, for at this time Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Tammany Societies, was a hot-bed of American patriotism and of the political unrest that led to American Independence.

TAMMANY SOCIETY POTENT FIGURE.

The momentous political controversy over the adoption of the Federal Constitution overshadowed in interest and importance the activities of unofficial organizations and agencies everywhere and even the Sons of Tammany in Philadelphia went into eclipse. When the seat of the National Government was transferred from

Philadelphia to New York, the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in New York at once became a potent figure in public affairs.

At the dinner of the Marine Society, held at the Coffee House in New York, on January 25, 1786, the toast was offered "St. Tammany and the New Constellation." The other toasts proposed at this banquet bear a striking resemblance to those drunk at the St. Tammany Day banquets in Philadelphia and elsewhere. This was probably due to the influence of John Pintard, who four years before had been prominently associated with the Society of the Sons of St. Tammany in New Jersey. Soon after the British evacuation, however, he came to New York, and in 1784 became a member of the Marine Society.

The Society of Tammany has preserved the corner-stone of the first Tammany Hall, erected in 1811 at Park Row and Frankfort Street, where the reconstructed Sun building now stands. The stone bears this inscription:

Tammany Society or Columbian Order.
Founded by William Mooney in 1786. Organized under
a Constitution and Laws in 1789.

Wm. Mooney 1st Grand Sachem. New York May 12th, 1789.
The inscription may be accepted as evidence of the date of the founding. Corroboration of this fact is found in the press notices relating to the Societies' early celebration and from contemporary reports of the activities immediately following 1786.

In a statement dated November 10, 1817, which is prefixed to the constitution adopted by the Society in that year, and signed by "A Brother of 1776 and one of the surviving Founders," 1786 is given as the date of its founding. In that year, the statement reads, "a few genuine Whigs—a very few—assembled together" and formed a National Society.

If the Society held a celebration in 1786 no account of it is found in the newspapers of that year. It gathered sufficient strength, however, to attract attention to its meeting in May, 1787. The following notice appeared in *New York Daily Advertiser*, April 30, 1787:

The members of St. Tammany's Society in the City of New York are requested to meet at their wigwam, held at Mr. Talmage Hall's, No. 49 Cortlandt Street, on Tuesday, the first day of May next, at Sunset, to celebrate the annual meeting. By order of the Sachem.

Putticatwamina, Sec'ry.

The celebration appears to have been a great success, for it was elaborately described in the journals of the day.

On May 12, 1789, the Tammany Society held a gala celebration on the Banks of the Hudson about two miles from the city. "Strangers who are now in this city, and who are members of this Society in any other state" were invited to join in the celebration. Patriotic speeches were delivered and according to the newspaper accounts :

After singing numbers of Songs adapted to the occasion, and smoking the Calumet of Peace, each member retired to his own Wigwam and Hunting Ground, in hopes of meeting on the next anniversary, in the same brotherly and affectionate manner, to commemorate the glorious deeds and achievements of their renowned Patron.

Thenceforth, regular meetings were held at intervals varying from one week to one month, at which the policies and purposes of the Order became crystallized and its ritual elaborated. In 1789, it adopted its first written constitution. With the election of officers, the Society was thoroughly and permanently organized, and has since continued its notable and dignified career, adjusting its customs and ceremonies to conform to the changes, taste, and fashion of each decade, but clinging tenaciously to the ancient traditions that inspired its foundation.

TAMMANY SOCIETY'S OBJECT.

William Mooney's name appears as the Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society in 1789; after this date he occupied positions of prominence in the Society continuously for upwards of thirty years, as Grand Sachem, Sachem, or chairman of important committees.

A guiding influence in the establishment of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in New York is readily traceable to John Pintard, merchant, philanthropist and scholar, who came to New York from New Jersey soon after the Treaty of Peace in 1783. In 1788 and 1789 he was an assistant alderman, and in 1790 was elected to the state legislature. The scope of his activity was so broad that he became a participant in every movement of importance in New York, at this period still the State capital. It is said that he drafted the by-laws for every society of import-

ance in New York City in his day, and the first Constitution of the Tammany Society bears every evidence of his style.

The objects of the Society are briefly stated in the second paragraph of the Public Constitution as follows:

It shall connect in the indissoluble Bonds of patriotic Friendship, American Brethren, of known attachment to the political Rights of human Nature, and the Liberties of this country.

In a letter dated October 11, 1790, addressed to the eminent scholar, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, of Boston, Pintard refers to the American Museum as having been "instituted by the St. Tammany's Society in this city for the express purpose of collecting and preserving everything relating to the natural or political history of America. I have not time to explain the principles of this Society, of which I am a member, further than that it is a political institution founded on a strong republican basis, whose democratic principles will serve in some measure to correct the aristocracy of our city."

The Society, in an address issued to the people of the United States on February 2, 1795, described its basic principles as follows:

This Society * * * is founded on the broad basis of natural rights and is solely designed to connect American brethren in the indissoluble bonds of Patriotic Friendship.

The Society, again, in an address published in 1819, described its principles in these sentences:

The Society of Tammany or Columbian Order is founded upon the dignified principles of Public Liberty. It is the task of this Society to adhere with the faith of the magnet to the principles of the revolution.

At the 42d anniversary celebration of the Society, held on May 12, 1831, Sachem Grant outlined its principles in the following toast:

Tammany Society or Columbian Order,—a great National Institution, founded on the principles of civil and religious liberty—the glory of man.

Tammany always had a charitable side and a fund was raised by collection at the annual festivities for the relief of delinquent debtors. This brought public favor to the Society, for the Poor Debtors' Laws were stringent and worked untold hardship. As the Debtors' Relief Laws, largely through the unremitting efforts

of the Tammany Society, were forced on the statute books, the Society turned its charitable attentions in other directions. This phase of the Society became a distinguishing feature, which still endures.

TAMMANY'S OFFICERS AND SYMBOLS.

The Tammany Society elects its officers annually on the Third Monday in April. These officers are thirteen sachems, who act as a Board of Directors, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Sagamore, and Wiskinski. The Sachems organize the Grand Council of Sachems by electing a presiding officer called the Grand Sachem, who presides at all functions of the Society, as well as of the



The "Wigwam," Broad Street, 1789-1790

Council. The Sachems also elect a Father of the Council, and a Scribe to the Council, who records its proceedings.

The Sagamore is the master of ceremonies at all functions of the Society. He has charge of the badges and other gorgets of the Society, and is its Marshal at its public processions. The Wiskinski (the eyes of the Society) is the doorkeeper or outer guard. He is also the Custodian of the ornaments, banners, and standards of the Society.

The Society in the last century was divided into thirteen tribes, and each member upon his admission was assigned to a tribe.

Under the Constitution adopted November 10, 1817, the tribes were allotted as follows :

<i>State</i>	<i>Tribe</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Tribe</i>
1. New Hampshire	Otter	8. Delaware	Tiger
2. Massachusetts	Panther	9. Maryland	Fox
3. Rhode Island	Beaver	10. Virginia	Deer
4. Connecticut	Bear	11. North Carolina	Buffalo
5. New York	Eagle	12. South Carolina	Raccoon
6. New Jersey	Tortoise	13. Georgia	Wolf
7. Pennsylvania	Rattlesnake		

Each tribe had a separate organization, over which a Sachem, designated by the Grand Sachem, presided. It also selected by



The “Wigwam” and Museum of Tammany Society, Broad Street, 1790-1798

ballot three officers, viz., a Standard Bearer or Warrior, called an Okemaw; a tribe hunter called a Mackawalaw; and a Scribe or tribe clerk, called an Alank, who kept the roll containing the tribal proceedings. Each of the tribes was named after one of the original thirteen states, and as indicated, was dedicated to some animal, a common and wide-spread custom among the North American Indians. In the public processions the tribes marched in a body bearing the arms of their respective states. The custom,

however, of dividing the Society into tribes has now fallen into disuse.

Time is reckoned by the Tammany Society from three events, and all communications were dated in three ways, i. e., from the year of the discovery of America, October 12, 1492; of Independence, July 4, 1776, and of the Institution, May 12, 1779. The year was divided into four seasons:

Season of snows: December, January and February.

Season of blossoms: March, April and May.

Season of fruits: June, July and August.

Season of hunting: September, October and November.

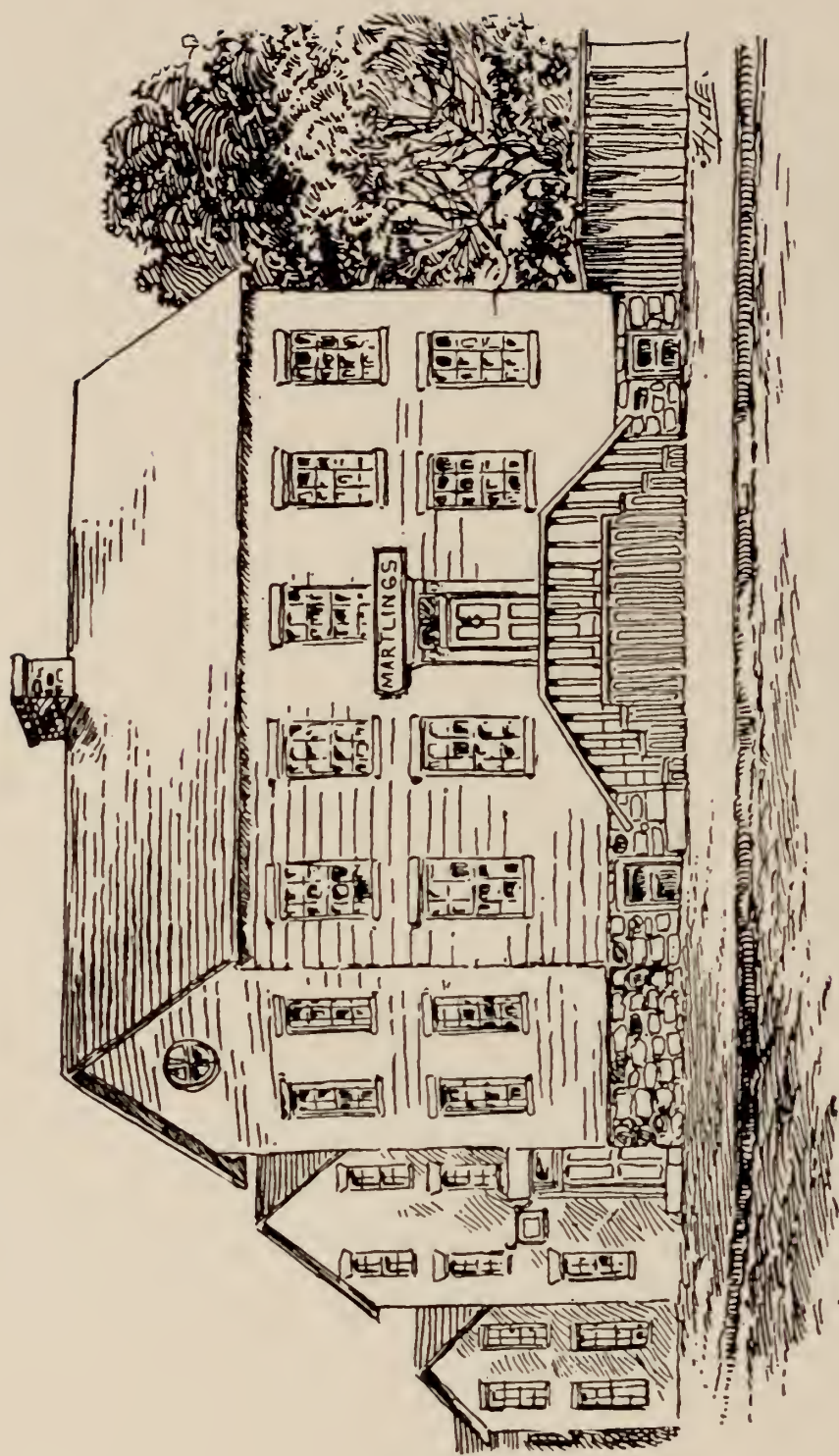
The bucktail, regarded as a talisman of liberty by the earlier Tammany Societies, was adopted by the New York Society as its emblem; and the regulations provided that it should be a part of the insignia worn on all public occasions. It seems to have borne a superstitious character as a token of good luck, and was long considered the appropriate badge of a hunter. With this significance in mind, the original votaries of Tammany in Philadelphia, members of the Schuylkill hunting and fishing clubs, employed it in their ceremonies. The importance accorded to this symbolism in the Society is illustrated by its recognition among the toasts offered at the banquets. The following toast to the bucktail was drunk at the celebration of May 12, 1819:

The American Bucktail of Tammany; an emblem of liberty honored by our ancestors—May it sweep from our soil the last vestige of unchastened ambition.

So prominent was the display of the bucktail in all Tammany pageants that its wearers were at one time popularly known as "Bucktails."

LIBERTY CAP THE SYMBOL.

The Cap of Liberty is the paramount symbol of the Society. It has its origin in antiquity and was a token of freedom among the ancient Greeks and Romans and the placing of it on the head of a slave was part of the services attending his manumission. During the early days of the French Republic it was the symbol of the supporters of popular rights, and when sentiment for the principles of the Revolution swept the United States, the French Cockade, the Cap of Liberty and the Tri-color of France, became extremely popular in New York City.



The "Wigwam," Corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets, 1798-1812

The Grand Standard of the Society is the arms of the United States properly emblazoned. The Society originally adopted as its motto, the phrase: "Civil Liberty, the Glory of Man." In recent years, however, this has given way to the inscription on the Great Seal of the Society:—"Freedom our Rock." The latter phrase by custom is now generally accepted as the motto of the Society.

Each officer of the Society has a specially designed badge, suspended by a ribbon worn over his shoulders, bearing a patriotic motto.

The meetings are called Council-Fires, and the tomahawk and calumet, or pipe of Peace, are given a place in the councils.

The Society in its early career had a well defined order of procession at its public celebrations. The procession was always headed by the Cap of Liberty as the Grand Standard of the Society, and the Father of the Council carrying the Calumet or pipe of Peace, and the Sagamore carrying the tomahawk.

In 1813 the practice of appearing in Indian costume at public functions was abandoned, and in the celebration of July 4th of that year the Society paraded in civil attire, its membership distinguished by an appropriate badge. The abandonment of the Indian regalia was induced by an intense feeling both in the Society and by the public against Indians because of the atrocities perpetrated in the border conflict incident to the War of 1812.

UNIQUE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY.

The Tammany Society of New York occupies an unique place in the history of American politics. Its development includes its activities as a patriotic and fraternal institution with relationship to an organized force in party politics of such virility and public confidence that for a century and a quarter it has dominated the public life of the American Metropolis. Tammany was never higher in public esteem than it is to-day.

After its reorganization in 1789, the Society rapidly gained a place of prominence in the social and patriotic activities of the city. Its growth was favored by the broadening metropolitan life of what was then the nation's capital. Its principles early attracted the attention and received the recognition of men prominent in municipal, state and national affairs. Substantial and distinguished citizens were attracted to its membership and so noted

were its public ceremonies and pageants that the whole city was accustomed to view them with genuine pride.

In 1790, the population of New York, including the City of New York and the several towns and villages located on the Island of Manhattan, was not more than 33,000. Greenwich Village, located in the neighborhood of Christopher Street, was a remote



THE "WIGWAM" FROM 1812 TO 1868

suburb. The surrounding counties of Kings, Queens, and Richmond, now a part of the city, were sparsely settled. With the city's growth, the Tammany Society kept pace, enlarging its membership and extending its influence.

Early in its career the Society won prestige by the performance of signal public service in conciliating the representatives of the Indian Tribes who came to New York to treat with the

National Government. During the Revolution, the sympathies of many of the tribes were found on the side of the British and a vexatious problem of the new government was the pacification of the Indians and the reclamation of their support, loyalty and allegiance.

On February 15, 1790, the Society tendered a reception to the Warriors and Sachems of the Oneida Nation, who at that time were visiting New York to confer with Governor Clinton and President Washington. The evening was spent in cordial sociability; punch and wine were served, and complimentary toasts exchanged. Columbian songs were rendered and speeches delivered, renewing vows of friendship between the Society and the Tribe.

In the same year the Chiefs of the Cayuga Indians, who were in New York on official business, joined with the Society in its anniversary celebration of May 12th. The Cayugas were tenth in the order of the procession and "the festival was concluded by an Indian dance led by the Cayuga Indians, in which the officers of the Society joined."

By its entertainment of the Creek Indians in the same year the Society mounted at once to national prominence and secured the esteem of President Washington and of Congress. The Chiefs of the Creek Nation, upwards of thirty in number, came to New York for the purpose of concluding a treaty of peace with the United States. During the Revolutionary War the Creeks joined with the British against the colonists and after the treaty of peace was signed, the Creeks continued to harrass the people of Georgia by conducting a savage border warfare over boundary disputes. The National Government invited the Creeks to a conference in New York, and dispatched a special envoy to greet and escort them to the Capital.

The Government invited the Tammany Society to participate in the welcome to the Indians upon their arrival and to entertain them while in the city. The Creeks arrived July 21, 1790, and "were received by the St. Tammany Society, who attended on the occasion, attired in the most splendid dresses and other emblems of that respectable Society." Tammany braves escorted the Creeks in procession to President Washington's Executive Chambers.

That evening the visiting chiefs were entertained at dinner in the Wigwam of the Society at the City Tavern. There were present, beside the Creeks, General Knox, Secretary of War, the Senators and Congressmen from Georgia and officers of the Army. On August 2nd, 1790, a conference was held between the Tammany Society and the Creeks, attended by Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State; General Knox, Secretary of War; John Jay Chief Justice of the United States; George Clinton, Governor of New York, and James Duane, Mayor of the City. True to Indian custom, the Calumet of Peace and Friendship was smoked and congratulations were exchanged upon the felicitous relations between the Indians, guests and their hosts. Patriotic songs were rendered and the Indian chiefs sang and danced. The conference, which was open to the public, delighted the spectators with its novelty and brilliancy.

The Society's prestige was enhanced among men of learning by the establishment under its auspices in June, 1790, of the American Museum for patriotic mementos and material of historic value. The Common Council assigned it a room in the City Hall. Under the guidance of Pintard it grew rapidly in importance and became one of the show places of the city. In 1794 it was removed from the City Hall to the Exchange in Broad Street. Later the Museum passed to the custody of others. In 1865 it was destroyed when Barnum's Museum was burned.

FIRST TO CELEBRATE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY.

On February 22, 1790, the Tammany Society celebrated the birthday of President Washington. A song suitable to the occasion was sung and great patriotic fervor was evinced by the participants. The Society then by formal motion

Resolved, unanimously that the 22nd day of February
* * * be this day and ever hereafter commemorated by
this Society as the birth of the illustrious George Washington,
President of the United States of America.

This was the first anniversary of Washington's Birthday after his inauguration as President, and its recognition by the Society was the first formal notice taken of the event. Even the Order of the Cincinnati, of which Washington was President-General, took inspiration from the action of the Tammany Society, and seven days thereafter, March 1, 1790, decided in the future to celebrate the anniversary of his birthday. The Tammany Society

A LIST
OF THE GENTLEMEN INVITED TO COMMEMORATE
ST. TAMMANY,

ON THE FIRST OF *MAY*, 1773.

J AMES Allen, Esq;	Joseph Galloway, Esq;	Samuel Powel, Esq;
Andrew Allen, Esq;	Dr. George Glentworth,	Mr. Joseph Pemberton,
Mr. William Allen,	Mr. Benjamin Gibbs.	Mr. Edward Pennington,
Mr. Matthias Aspden.		Mr. Thomas Penrose,
	Hon. Jam. Hamilton, Esq;	Mr. James Penrose.
James Biddle, Esq;	Andrew Hamilton, Esq;	
Edward Biddle, Esq;	William Hamilton, Esq;	John Rofs, Esq;
Mr. John Baynton,	Michael Hillegass, Esq;	Joseph Read, Esq;
Mr. Clement Biddle,	Mr. William Hockley,	Mr. Joseph Redman,
Mr. William Bradford,	Mr. Reuben Haines,	Dr. John Rydman,
Mr. Thomas Bradford,	Mr. Jam. Humphreys, jun.	Mr. David Tenhouse,
Mr. Thomas Bond, jun.	Ashton Humphreys, Esq;	Mr. George Roberts,
Mr. John Bayard,	Mr. Jacob Samuel Howel,	Dr. Benjamin Rush,
Mr. Joseph Bullock,	Mr. Stacy Hepburn,	Jacob Rush, Esq;
Mr. James Budden.	Mr. George Henry.	Capt. Thomas Read.
	Abel James, Esq;	
Benjamin Chew, Esq;	Mr. Robert Strettel Jones.	Samuel Shoemaker, Esq;
Rev'd. Mr. Coombe,		Edw. Shippen, sen. Esq;
Mr. John Cadwalader,	Dr. Adam Kuhn,	Joseph Shippen, jun. Esq;
Mr. Lambt. Cadwalader,	Mr. Henry Keppelle, jun.	Dr. Wm. Shippen, jun.
Daniel Clymer, Esq;		Mr. Joseph Swift,
Mr. John Chevalier,	Hon. John Lawrence, Esq;	Capt. Robert Shewall,
Mr. Peter Chevalier,	Thomas Lawrence, Esq;	Mr. Thomas Smith.,
Mr. Stephen Carmick,	Mr. Tho. Lawrence, jun.	
Mr. John Cox, junior.	John Lawrence, jun. Esq;	James Tilghman, Esq;
Mr. Curtis Clay,	William Logan, Esq;	Mr. Tench Tilghman,
Mr. Robert Clay.	Mr. James Logan,	Richard Tilghman, Esq;
	John Lukens, Esq;	Mr. Peter Turner,
John Dickenson, Esq;	Mr. Jesse Lukens,	Mr. William Turner.
Rev'd. Mr. Duche,	James Lukens, Esq;	
Mr. Henry Drinker,	Peter Lloyd, Esq;	Hon. Tho. Villing, Esq;
Mr. John Duffield.		Rev. Mr. White,
	Mr. Mordecai Lewis.	Mr. Joseph Wharton, sen.
Dr. Cadwalader Evans,	Samuel Mifflin, Esq;	Stephen Watts, Esq;
Mr. George Emlen,	Thomas Mifflin, Esq;	Mr. Richard Willing,
Mr. Caleb Emlen.	John Morris, Esq;	Mr. Tho. Wharton, sen.
	Mr. Samuel Morris, jun.	Mr. Joseph Wharton, jun.
His Excellency Governor	Mr. Samuel Cad. Morris,	Mr. James Wharton,
Franklin,	Samuel Meredith, Esq;	Mr. Isaac Wharton,
Joseph Fox, Esq;	Mr. George Morgan,	Mr. Tho. Wharton, jun.
Judah Foulke, Esq;	Mr. Anthony Morris, sen.	Mr. Joseph Wood,
Mr. Tench Francis,	Mr. Thomas Murgatroyd.	Mr. Peter Wikoff,
Turbutt Francis, Esq;		Joseph Worrall, Esq;
Mr. Philip Francis,	George Noarth, Esq;	Mr. William Wister,
Miers Fisher, Esq;	Mr. Samuel Nicholls.	Mr. Jerem. Warder, jun.
Mr. William Fisher, jun.		Alex. Wilcocks, Esq;
Mr. Moore. Furman.	Hon. Governor Penn,	Mr. John Wilcocks.
	Richard Peters, jun. Esq;	

for many years faithfully observed the occasion with appropriate patriotic ceremony.

The Society early adopted the celebration of July 4th as one of its principal annual functions, and the custom in this state of reading the Declaration of Independence as a part of the 4th of July program was instituted by the Tammany Society. It is the only institution in America that has since July 4th, 1790, continued this custom without a single interruption. The establishment of this ceremony has been attributed to John Pintard, and his strong patriotic sentiment and far-seeing appreciation of the significance of American Nationalism gives weight to this opinion. The first four celebrations of Independence Day were conducted by the Tammany Society alone with its usual pageantry and ceremonials. On the 4th of July, 1794, however, there was a concerted public recognition of the day and the leading civic and patriotic bodies in the city combined in the arrangement of an ostentatious ceremony to take the place of the separate functions which had theretofore characterized the day.

The Society included in its list of celebrations that of November 25th, Evacuation Day, in honor of the final withdrawal of the British troops from New York City on November 25, 1783. In conjunction with other civic bodies it frequently participated in parades in honor of this occasion, but for the most part the ceremony was confined to a banquet at the Wigwam.

This observance was continued until the outbreak of the Mexican War, after which the event lost public interest.

The calendar of the society issued with the public constitution in 1790 included October 12, the anniversary of the discovery of America as the day sacred to the memory of Columbus—the Society's second patron. As a feature of the occasion, a Long Talk usually delivered in conjunction with a banquet, was prescribed. It early became customary to include in the program an ode or poem dedicated to the Great Discoverer.

The Society's patriotic zeal found expression in tributes to departed statesmen and heroes of the nation. This custom was inaugurated upon the death of Benjamin Franklin in 1790, when the society wore its badge of mourning for thirty days.

The Society shared the grief which pervaded the entire country on the death of Washington, and conducted commemorating exercises.

Upon the death of Alexander Hamilton in 1804, resolutions of condolence were executed to his widow and family, and the Society occupied a conspicuous place in the funeral procession.

Again its badge of mourning, a black crepe ribbon edged with red, was borne by the Society at the funeral of John Pierce, who was killed in April, 1806, by a shot from the British sloop *Leander* off Sandy Hook.

In July of the following year, the badge of mourning was again displayed for thirteen days, in memory of the sailors of the Frigate *Chesapeake* who were killed by a shot from the British sloop *Leopard*.

The wearing of this symbol at the death of prominent men became a fixed custom of the Society which has survived to the present day.

The practical character of the Society's patriotism is shown by its work on the fortifications guarding New York Harbor. In 1794 when war with Great Britain seemed imminent, the unprotected condition of the city became a subject for public concern. The Tammany Society worked zealously to perfect the coast defenses. Its members labored with their own hands upon the fortifications around the harbor; and by its patriotic efforts won the thanks of the National Government.

In July 1807, following the unwarranted attack on the *Chesapeake*, by a British sloop of war, the Society organized the "Tammanial War Band" and volunteered their services to President Jefferson in anticipation of war with England. A War Song dedicated to the Band was sung at the meetings of the Society to stimulate and "keep alive the patriotic flame."

The Society shared the intense public interest in the French Revolution. The signal service rendered to the American cause during the Revolutionary War was gratefully remembered, and the American people displayed a lively sympathy with the French in their efforts to throw off the yoke of despotism. The Tammany Society carried its enthusiasm for the French Revolution to the point of holding celebrations to commemorate its events. The first of these was held on July 14, 1792, "to celebrate that day on which the French nation wrested from the hands of tyranny their liberty and freedom."

The Honourable Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen
And Commonality of the City of New York

Gentlemen

The subscriber takes the liberty to solicit your favour
and application to occupy the vacant lot of ground, on the corner of
Pearl Street fronting the Battery as a Menagerie for the use of the
present living Quadrupeds and Birds that belong to the Museum and those
not many hereafter to be collected, the present number consists of 200
Quadrupeds and 100 Birds

Gentlemen

I am induced the more to make this
request from the institution now having succeeded from its first establish-
ment by your attachment and eagerness to assist and promote the same,
which I hope you will think will be a great advantage to the City and
the cause of science and industry (very necessary) to become very
common to our City and State at large.

Gentlemen

If you should be inclined to grant
this request, I will as soon as your pleasure is made known to me
be ready to be instructed in a new fence, which wall be
sufficiently painted to as to be in some measure ornamental

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant

John J. Baker

Keeper of the Museum

Attest Elizabeth

New York, 21st Decr 1794

The Beginning of Our First Zoological Gardens; Instituted under
the auspices of the American or Tammany Museum, 1794

TAMMANY ENTERS POLITICAL ARENA.

While the Society was slowly circling into the whirlpool of politics, there arrived in New York in the fall of 1793 Citizen Genet and Mrs. Ann Julia Hatton. The former was spokesman for France and the latter sprang into immediate prominence as the bard of American Democracy. She championed the cause of Republicanism and dedicated to the Democratic Society a patriotic ode embodying the French ideas of liberty and equality with which she was imbued. Mrs. Hatton was patronized by the Tammany Society and wrote an opera called "Tammany, or the Indian Chief," based upon the legends of its patrons. The Society in its zeal secured the production of the piece in New York in March, 1794. Its expressions of liberty and equality created a sensation; the prologue and epilogue were characterized by their strong leaning toward the principles of the French Revolution.

The Federalists severely criticized the piece and condemned its sentiments, but it met with great favor among Republicans. This incident tended to widen the gap between the Tammany Society and the Federalists, and the bitterness engendered brought it into closer allegiance to the Democrats. The big breach, however, between the Federalists and the Democrats, the policy that caused the active, open entrance of Tammany into politics was precipitated by the controversy over the national excise tax, one of Hamilton's fiscal measures.

The final steps of the Society towards politics are directly due to the oppressive measures passed by the Federalists during the administration of John Adams; these measures carried to the extreme Hamilton's doctrine of a national Government with highly centralized powers. Availing themselves of their sudden supremacy in both houses of Congress, the Federalists placed upon the statute books, the Naturalization Act, the Alien Act and the Sedition Law.

Under the Naturalization Act the requisite term of residence in the United States preliminary to qualifying for citizenship was extended from five to fourteen years, and the process of naturalization was rendered unusually stringent.

All aliens, by the provisions of the new Alien Act, were placed under a system of surveillance, by requiring them to be reported and registered; they were subject to summary deportation at the whim of the President, without cause assigned or the right of

judicial review. The President's orders, in this respect, were to be executed by the Marshals of the United States, without any recourse, whatever, to the courts.

The Sedition Law was a direct blow at free speech and liberty of the press. Under this Act a person could not, in speech or by writing, have criticized a Federal officer, including the Chief Executive, a member of Congress or an act passed by that body, without incurring the risk of public prosecution. The Federalists, distrusting the forbearance of State Courts and prosecutors, in cases of libel against the National Government and kindred political offenses, gave jurisdiction of the crimes under the Sedition Act to Federal officers and tribunals in order to insure a direction of prosecuting machinery favorable to their party ends.

The Federalist Party weighted with the odium of these laws, was doomed. Public sentiment turned against it and a wave of indignation stormed the country. With the phrases "freedom of speech" and "liberty of the press" on their lips, and with the fervor of crusaders, the Republicans, guided by Jefferson, organized throughout the United States for the overthrow of the Federal party.

In New York City, the Tammany Society, whose basic principles are Liberty and Equality, became the rallying point of the supporters of personal liberty and popular rights, and co-operated with the Republicans for the election of Jefferson to the Presidency.

In this election, the Society enrolled and canvassed the voters with ordered precision. To meet the property qualifications of voters, it united a number of men in the ownership of the same piece of property, thus increasing the number of freeholders or voters. The Presidential Electors were carried for Jefferson and Tammany Hall had entered and won its first political contest.

So effective was its work and so well organized was its method of attack that after this defeat of the Federalists, Hamilton advocated that a society similar to the Tammany Society in scheme of organization and activity be organized to support the Federal party.

The day Jefferson assumed office, March 4, 1801, was observed as a holiday. The whole country was noisy with bell-ringing and cannonading in honor of the Triumph of Democracy and the inauguration of the Man of the People. Since the news of peace

swept the land in 1783 there had not been such an exhibition of heartfelt joy. Nor was the like of it again seen till another Democratic President—Jackson, a Son of Tammany was elected.

Thus we find the Society launched on its political career, as a militant partisan influence and champion of personal liberty and popular rights.

THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION.

The building known as Tammany Hall is owned and controlled by the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order. The term "Tammany Hall," however, in popular significance is used to designate the Democratic party in the County of New York. This designation arises from the fact that the assembly hall of the Society, ever since the construction of the First Tammany Hall in 1811, has been the meeting place of the elected representative committees of the Democratic party.

Since 1817, however, the phrase "Tammany Hall" has been used as the political name of the Democratic party in the County.

Originally an organization of purely social, charitable and patriotic motives, the Tammany Society was transformed into an agency for the promotion and maintenance of republican principles. From 1800 until 1871 the Council of Sachems of the Tammany Society passed upon the regularity of Committees, Conventions, and Nominations of the party and was the directing power of party affairs. By custom and precedent, therefore, the body that met in Tammany Hall was regarded as the regular Democratic party and its nominees were accepted as the regular party candidates.

This relation of the Society to the Party is amply described in a statement issued Feb. 4, 1853, by the Council of Sachems in deciding which of two contending County Committees was entitled to hold its meetings in the Hall. In the course of its address the Council stated:

The Tammany Society or Columbian Order, now two-thirds of a century old has, for a long period of time, been a centre of Democracy, not only of this City, but to some extent, of the whole country. * * * Its influence has been exerted to preserve in purity and vigor, the Democratic Creed and to disseminate and foster a spirit of harmony and conciliation among all who profess its ennobling and beneficent doctrines. * * * It would be as reasonable to assert at noonday, in the face of the sun, that that orb does not emit light as to deny

that the Tammany Society is a political organization. Indeed, its political fame is too extended to need mention, much less proof of its existence.

Our Society owns Tammany Hall—the Great Wigwam; and by its control of the political use of this building has exercised a material influence in respect to the Democratic Organization. Tammany Hall has been identified with every Democratic struggle from the time of its erection to the present. Alike in victory and defeat, it has been the home of sound principles. * * * Whatever may have been the divisions in the Democratic rank, either in the Union or in the State, the Democratic Organization in Tammany Hall has adhered to the regular Democratic standard. The credit of these gratifying results may in a large degree be ascribed to the influence of our Society.

The power to determine absolutely as to the occupancy of the Hall is vested in the Grand Council of the Tammany Society. The Sachems have so judiciously discharged this delicate duty, that the decisions of the Council have not only been proven by time to be wise and salutary, but have always been cheerfully sustained by the masses of the Democratic party.

Following the reorganization of the Democratic County Committee in 1871, when the Assembly District was adopted as the basis of representation, the Society slowly relinquished its hold upon the party machinery and the evolution of state election laws regulating party control completed the separation. Thus by a singular metamorphosis the Society, which for so many years had been the absolute dictator of Democratic politics in New York County and the arbiter of party regularity, was wholly divorced from its partisan control and resumed its original character as a fraternal and patriotic body.

The political organization known as Tammany Hall and the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York, are now, separate and distinct entities,—the former a body created and regulated by statute, a legalized functionary of party government; the latter the continuation of an ancient and honorable patriotic movement tracing its traditions and public service through nearly 150 years of active life.

Early in 1799 the Republicans, under the guidance of Jefferson, began to inaugurate a system of party machinery throughout the United States. This system was effectively installed in 1800. The basis of the scheme was a Party—an association of citizens

—aiming at the expression of legislative or administrative policies through control of governmental machinery. Its objects were the nomination of candidates, the promotion of unity, inspiring enthusiasm and energy, and the political education of voters with the view of adding them to the party ranks. The organization in each state consisted of a General Committee, a County Committee, and of sub-Committees in the towns and Wards, with various Committees on correspondence.

In New York City, the organization was based on a City wide General Committee and sub-Committees known as Ward Committees. As early as 1803, traces of the General Committee are found. In that year the Republican voters assembled in each of the ten wards in the City and elected a Ward Committee of three. These Ward representatives, consisting of thirty members, constituted the General Committee which had full control of the party affairs. In addition there was a nominating Committee of Seventy, seven delegates from each Ward, which met in the assembly rooms of the Society and nominated the candidates for public office.

The Committees' nominations had to be submitted for approval to the Republican electors, called in mass meeting in the wards, or in general mass-meeting of all the electors in the City. These meetings became known in time as ratification meetings. In the early development of the general or ratification meetings, Committees were appointed to prepare addresses to the voters, which became in effect the Party Platform in the Campaign. Committees on Correspondence were also designated with power to carry on the Campaign. By 1822, however, these functions had been absorbed by the General Committee, which assumed full control of the Party management.

The General Committee started in 1803 with a membership of thirty—three from each Ward. As late as 1853 this unit of representation was preserved, when the Committee consisted of sixty members—the number of Wards having been increased to twenty.

SAFEGUARDING THE BALLOT.

Between 1853 and 1869 the membership was increased to 400; while the Ward was still the unit of representation, the members of the Committee were selected from the Election District within the Ward. This Central or County Organization was charged with

the general party management during the year, such as calling public meetings, nominating conventions and primary elections. There was a Ward Organization consisting of delegates from each Election District in the Ward, who were in permanent session. These District representatives were considered the captains who marshalled and led into action the rank and file of the Democratic host of the City.

THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

The Democratic General Committee of the County of New York was organized in accordance with party policy set forth by the Democratic State Convention of 1871, and the basis of representation in the Committee was changed from the Ward to the Assembly District. The increase in the number of voters brought a corresponding increase in the number of the General or County Committee, so that the number is now regulated on the basis of the Democratic vote cast for the party's candidate for Governor, at the preceding Gubernatorial election.

Party machinery from meagre beginnings, became more definite and more complete from generation to generation; and while its enormous power was early recognized for a long time it was regarded as a purely private association notwithstanding its eminently public character. With realization of the relationship of party machinery to public affairs, the State adopted a policy of regulating parties by statute and the party in the State is now recognized by law and made a part of the regular mechanism of government.

1786



1936

